

MAY 8, 1943

# AMERICA

## THUNDER ON THE LEFT

Rt. Rev. John A. Ryan, D. D.

### DANES FIGHT ON

Maurice Feldman

### CAPITAL AND PEACE

Walter Froehlich

### MORE ROOM WITH ROCHDALE

Virginia Carlson

### ALCOHOL AND HAIR-SHIRTS

Daniel M. O'Connell

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#### EDITORIALS:

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ON RELIGION

MOTHER'S  
DAY

PRISONERS  
IN JAPAN

POLAND  
AND RUSSIA

RELIGIOUS  
UNITY



A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK

VOLUME LXIX

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NUMBER 5

# READ THE POPE

## About the Nazis - - -

March 14, 1937. Passion Sunday. Pope Pius XI issued his encyclical: *The Catholic Church in Germany*. "We have done everything in our power to defend the sacred pledge of the given word of honor against theories and practices which, if officially endorsed, would wreck every man's faith in treaties and make every signature worthless. . . ."

## About the Communists - - -

March 19, 1937. Pope Pius XI issued his encyclical: *On Atheistic Communism*. "It is no part of our intention to condemn *en masse* the peoples of the Soviet Union. For them we cherish the warmest paternal affection. . . . We blame only the system, with its authors and abettors. . . ."

## About Poland and the Poles - - -

1939 till 1942. Pope Pius XII defends Poland in *Pius XII and Poland*. "A Poland which awaits the hour of a resurrection in conformity with the principles of justice and true peace. . . . The will of one nation to life must never be, for another nation, a sentence of death. . . ."

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# AMERICA

A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK

MAY 8, 1943

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## WHO'S WHO

Rt. REV. JOHN A. RYAN, viewed with alarm by hard-shell reactionaries as a radical, and by left-wing extremists as a reactionary, is an outstanding exponent of the Papal social Encyclicals in America. He here presents a group of perturbed left-wingers sharpening their axes to demolish an imaginary "other Axis" running from Washington to the Vatican. Noted as an educator and lecturer, the Monsignor is also the author of several books urging Christian social reform. . . . VIRGINIA CARLSON has several babies in the house. What part they played in the development of a cooperative housing project in Minnesota, is the subject of her enlightening article. Mrs. Carlson is a graduate of Saint Catherine College in St. Paul. . . . MAURICE FELDMAN draws on his years of travel and journalistic experience in Europe to interpret the recent elections in Denmark. He's in the Army now. . . . WALTER FROEHLICH presents a timely and needed exploration of the companion problem to post-war investment. Mr. Froehlich teaches in the Department of Business Administration at Marquette University, Milwaukee. . . . FATHER DANIEL M. O'CONNELL looks through the whiskey glass somewhat darkly, but to genuine temperance instead of imposed prohibition. True abstinence, he argues, is a gift, born of spiritual purpose, not created by Act of Parliament. Father O'Connell was formerly Director General of Jesuit Education in the United States. . . . W. EUGENE SHIELES, Staff member, who keeps his eye on the South-American scene, gives some general norms for judging books on our neighbors to the South. The article is a digest of a paper read at a meeting of the Inter-American Conference, held in March at the University of Pennsylvania.

# COMMENT ON THE WEEK

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**Mr. Roosevelt and the Coal Crisis.** Now that the struggle between the United Mine Workers and the coal operators has gone to the President for decision, John L. Lewis has achieved what many observers think was one of his main objectives from the start—to deposit the whole messy controversy on the White House doorstep. Whether he will also achieve another main objective—the destruction of the War Labor Board—remains to be seen. In every respect, the task facing Mr. Roosevelt is as delicate as it is explosive. He knows, much better than the partisan anti-Lewis press, that rank-and-file miners are convinced of the substantial justice of their demands, that they are solidly behind Mr. Lewis' tactics, and that they have been bitterly aroused by the uncooperative attitude of the employers. On the other hand, he realizes that to concede the Union's demands would wreck the War Labor Board and the whole policy of settling wartime industrial disputes peacefully and within the framework of the anti-inflation program. He is also aware that, if he orders the miners to submit to the Board and to continue work pending its decision, they may choose to remain quietly at home. For permitting this ugly situation to develop, both Mr. Lewis and the leaders of the operators deserve the severest condemnation. But now that it has developed, the President would seem to have no recourse except to uphold, with all the authority of Government, the prestige of the War Labor Board. If the men in the mines refuse to acknowledge this authority, they will cause irreparable harm to the nation's war effort, to their own great union and to the whole cause of organized labor and industrial peace. As we go to press, the President has ordered the miners to submit their case to the Board and meanwhile continue working. Their duty to obey the Commander-in-Chief is clear.

**Ghosts of 1919.** The Administration's attempt to win Congressional approval for extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act has encountered unforeseen opposition in both House and Senate. Strong sentiment has developed for an amendment to the Act which would permit Congress to nullify any pact, after it has been duly negotiated, of which it disapproved. Although there are good reasons why the Administration of this Act ought to be left to the Executive branch of Government, Congress is clearly within its rights in demanding a voice in the reciprocal trade program; and if it insists on its prerogatives, the President and his Secretary of State will have to submit as gracefully as they can. But regardless of whether the Trade Agreements Act is passed with or without amendments, the attitude of an influential part of Congress on this question must be carefully noted. It indicates what possible obstacles lie ahead of

any President who attempts to by-pass Congress in formulating international policy. The ghosts of 1919 are once again walking the streets of Washington, and if they are not to assume flesh-and-blood shape in 1945 or 1950, or whenever the peace is made, the President must find some way of taking the Senate into his confidence in every step of the post-war settlement. This teamwork will not be easy, and none of Mr. Roosevelt's predecessors ever accomplished it after a great war. But the penalty of failure this time may well be the repetition of the tragedy of 1919. The President can never afford to forget that, under our present Constitution, one-third of the Senate can nullify a treaty and thwart the will of the majority.

**Ray of Hope.** By and large, news from the domestic front last week was such as to add fuel to the dark fires of pessimism. So complex are the problems which the nation faces, both in the conduct of the war and in the establishment of a durable peace, that failure must inevitably be our lot unless all groups submerge their particular interests in a flaming determination to secure the common good. But there is, generally speaking, little evidence that we are all marching together toward a better America and a better world. In a vague way, it is true, we are united in our determination to win the war, but this unity has so far not excluded the continued existence of old rivalries and suspicions—between management and labor, between labor and agriculture, between small farmers and big farmers, between Government and business, etc. All the more welcome, then, was the constructive conduct of this year's annual meeting of the United States Chamber of Commerce. For the first time in its history, representatives of labor and agriculture joined in the Chamber's deliberations, and Eric A. Johnston, its President, struck a new and cooperative note when he told the Press: "We have already progressed considerably in understanding what we are trying to do. Labor understands it, agriculture understands it and management understands it—all better than we used to do." That kind of talk is a ray of hope in a murky world, a breath of clean, fresh air in the Chamber's hitherto stuffy convention halls. American business can do worse than follow Mr. Johnston's leadership. He seems to recognize that there is no turning back to pre-1929, or pre-1917, or pre-any other time; that the Government and organized labor have, together with management, an important part to play now and in the postwar world.

**Civilian Business Life.** While poultry and other meat producers balk at selling within the new ceiling prices, word comes than an important lumber producer has taken an inspiring step in the oppo-

site direction. Reminded by wholesaling customers that the latter cannot compete with Government purchases at top ceiling prices, and that many of them are thus forced to buy and operate at a loss, this firm has voluntarily agreed, for the duration, to consign shipments to them at a fixed eight per cent below ceiling and to distribute sales equally between Government and private business. The bargain entails a present sacrifice of eight per cent on half of their entire output. At the same time it represents a far-sighted and generous move to support the life of individual firms which would close out if forced to buy at current market figures. This public-spirited action indicates true American patriotism. Rather than gouge out the highest possible profit from the war emergencies, these mill men pool their opportunities with their fellow Americans in an effort to uphold the civilian economy in its time of greatest stress.

**Restored Sight.** Seldom has the *New York Times* published such a forthright and hard-hitting editorial as that of April 6, "Peace and Communism." It states flatly that the only way we shall be able to get along with Russia is by some mutual concessions, and that a primary one Russia will have to make is to disband the Communist party in all lands outside Russia as an instrument of Russian policy. This is plain speaking, and the heartening feature of it is that this suggestion is simply a further development of one made by several erstwhile "fellow-travelers" in a book, *America, Russia and the Communist Party in the Post-War World*. When the liberals begin to examine their position and some of them are honest and fair-minded enough to acknowledge the error of their ways, it does indeed look as though the war is bringing them to a reawakening to American values and standards. With our own standards thought out straight and clear, we will be able to talk practically about collaborating after the war. May such honest thinking become contagious!

**Students and Cooperation.** In more than a hundred Catholic schools and colleges in the United States, members of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin are working out a plan which may play a considerable part in transforming the economic world. *The Queen's Work*, official organ of the Sodality in this country, is authority for this statement, and reviews the great possibilities of the Sodality cooperative movement in its issue for May, 1943. The cooperatives are looked upon by Sodality leaders as an eminently practical application of Christian teaching to the economic order. All the permanently successful campus cooperatives have been preceded by a fully outlined program of study. Over fifty high schools, thirty-four colleges and ten schools of nursing are currently engaged in the co-op activity. The type of project is as varied as the individual schools represented. Practising co-operation intra-murally, in the buyings and sellings of their student days, Catholic young men and women are preparing themselves to work together and with their neighbors in their later lives.

**Europe Tomorrow.** Post-war planners must keep in mind an enormous work, the rebuilding of a whole civilization, so thorough has been the conquest of dictatorship. Dynamite and famine obscure the mountain of expropriations and complete disillusionment. Whole populations have been uprooted. Currency systems evaporate under the impact of fiat money. Peacetime political leadership is replaced by Quislings and partisan fanaticism. Serbs, Jews and Poles undergo a systematic extermination. Even the neutrals feel the strain and show definite signs of coming hysteria. Faced by this disaster, the peacemakers will carry the tremendous burden of lifting Europe out of a collapse comparable to that after the fall of Rome. It is all to the good to design ideals of the freedoms for the nations, but without a doubt the major share of rebuilding will fall to the work of rehabilitation. Planners need all the resources of knowledge of the social, geographical and economic realities. The military will win the war. Greater victory awaits the patient forces of mercy. Our generous American spirit has a task before it worthy of superhuman effort. God willing, we shall not be found wanting in the generosity and patience that the task calls for.

**Chivalry in War.** Invasion being in the air, there seems, unexpectedly enough, to be an emergence of the long-lost chivalry in warfare. American generals in Tunisia refer to Rommel and his Afrika Korps in terms of respect for their fighting qualities; Italy has issued a little booklet, counseling the people to be very polite to invading troops. Are we getting back to medieval manners in war? Then warfare was so much a matter of protocol that it sometimes took on the aspects of light opera. On one occasion, the force besieging a castle found itself running short of food. The commanding officer sent a dispatch to the lord of the stronghold: "Honored Sir: Lack of provender is playing such havoc among my men, that we shall be forced to lift the siege and retire, if succor is not soon forthcoming." The besieged lord opened the gates, sent out his tuns of wine and sides of beef, the besiegers fortified themselves, and the battle went merrily on again. How long do you suppose it will be until we can look back at World War II with a tolerant smile? Never, apparently. At least, not until we have lots more medieval chivalry in the blitz. It was possible, when Christian warred against Christian—but now?

**Less War Hate.** A new title in our national roster is the Photographic Colonel. One such, a genius of Hollywood, contributed a lively battle story to our widely read picture magazine last month. His pictorial skill meets no criticism. His diary of war experiences, while highly theatrical, leaves something to be desired. For this gentleman of the silver screen, well-screened off from Panzer attack, indulges in an over-potion of hate for the foe: not, he explains, for the Nazi alone but for all who wear the enemy uniform. Meantime a young Oklahoman, who had knocked down nineteen Jap planes

in fifty-four days at Guadalcanal, had this to say on the same topic:

No, I don't hate the Japs. I don't hate anybody. I don't think you should go into any job, even war, hating anybody. I know a lot of people get emotional and romantic about it, and talk about crusades. That's good movie stuff, but it isn't the way it works out when we get to fighting. . . . They sent me out to get something done, and that was that.

A paradox? No, a bit of plain talk by a plain American boy who can distinguish an inalienable right from a materialistic emotional urge.

**New Rector of C. U.** For the first time in its fifty-four years of existence, the Catholic University of America has chosen one of its own alumni as Rector, in the well known person of the Right Rev. Patrick J. McCormick, to succeed the late Bishop Joseph Corrigan, who died on June 30 of last year. A heavy responsibility rests upon the shoulders of Monsignor McCormick, who must walk in the footsteps of a Keane, a Shahan, a Corrigan and other great educators and achievers. But Msgr. McCormick has grown up in these traditions. His learning and executive ability have been so long and intimately a part of the University that the transition from Dean of the Sisters College to the post of Acting Rector, and thence to the present Pontifical appointment, has seemed completely natural. The trustees of the University are to be congratulated on their choice. Under his guidance the many Faculties and affiliated institutions which he represents will further develop that contribution to religious leadership and to civic welfare to which their history and their location entitle them.

**Joe Says "Amen."** Joe was a little thick in acquiring his prayers, although he was nearly eight years old. He knew the Our Father and the Hail Mary, but was weak on the Acts of Faith, Hope and Charity. His mother had impressed upon him, however, the practical importance of knowing the Act of Contrition. It was the key to a good Confession; and would come in handy, too, if your parachute were to jam, one of these days. So Joe tucked a printed leaflet in his pocket and finally announced he had the Act by heart. Sure enough, he could say it straight through for his Pastor, with an impressive conclusion: ". . . and to amend my life. Amen. John Murphy and Company, Publishers, Baltimore, Maryland." Joe's happy little formula stuck in the Pastor's memory, and so the latter was grieved to hear, through the N.C.W.C., that the historic John Murphy Company of Baltimore, which for more than a hundred years has published and distributed outstanding Catholic books, has said its own "Amen." The business, it was announced on April 9, would be taken over by P. J. Kenedy and Sons, in New York. Catholic best sellers for many generations were, and still are, such books as the immortal *Faith of Our Fathers*, by Cardinal Gibbons; the *Cardinal's Manual of Prayers*, and the *John Murphy Holy Bible*. These, and many others will perpetuate the memory of a great pioneer enterprise.

## UNDERSCORINGS

HIS Holiness, Pope Pius XII, has asked all Bishops, priests, Religious and faithful of the United States to join him in prayer during the month of May, "for the needs of humanity and the attainment of a just peace."

► N.C.W.C. reports a cheering statement of the Archbishop of Mexico, Most Rev. Luis M. Martinez, to the effect that the situation of the Church has greatly improved during the present administration. He said the change was due principally to two factors: "the design of President Avila Camacho to govern for all, and the sincere attitude of the Mexican Hierarchy toward cooperation with the civil government in all that is possible within the sphere of action of the Church."

► In Bogotá, Colombia, the Christian Brothers are opening a school where 1,500 boys will be educated without cost. A board of laymen is raising the necessary funds for the project.

► From Shanghai, via Vatican City, comes word that three Canadian Jesuit missionaries were killed in Kiangsu province. Twenty-nine are interned near Shanghai. Over 800 others, 191 of them native Chinese priests of the Order, are still working.

► Moscow saw huge crowds attending Easter services in the twenty-six churches open in the city. In 1917 there were 454 churches in use. Walter Graebner, news correspondent, reported recently that religious conditions there are still very hard:

1. Churches are subjected to continuous and potent pressure through exorbitant taxes, one paying \$19,000 a year merely to keep its doors open.
2. Church-goers are discriminated against in their jobs.
3. No clergy are permitted to be trained to replace those still left in the country.
4. Since 1917 about 1,500 Catholic churches have been closed in Russia.
5. While anti-religious propaganda was eased at the start of the war, observers believe the Communist regime as hostile as ever.

► Prof. Louis J. A. Mercier of Harvard University declared in a Boston speech that "a Catholic as such can no more be a Fascist than he can be a Communist, because the Fascist, like the Communist, would consider the citizen and the Church only as tools of the State." He added that the very basic principle of Catholicism is the assertion of the inalienable rights of the Church and of every human being.

► An honor roll of Marquette University alumni and students in the armed forces now exceeds 3,000. Over twenty are reported dead or missing.

► *Religious News Service* tells of the large-scale movement in the diocese of Lafayette, Louisiana, to revive family recital of the Rosary.

► A Baptist layman of Louisville gave testimony before the Court of Appeals to uphold the law providing for transportation of children to both public and parochial schools. Last December, the Court held the law a violation of the constitutional safeguards against appropriations for sectarian and religious purposes. Said Mr. Wolford: "The aid is for the benefit of the pupils, and not for the benefit of the schools."

## THE NATION AT WAR

PERHAPS nothing in regard to the war has caused so much attention recently as the action of the Japanese in executing several American pilots on charges of having intentionally bombed non-military objectives. The horror of these brutal killings, carried out contrary to the regulations of the Geneva Convention for Prisoners, has naturally brought out widespread indignation and country-wide comment.

But the press has generally overlooked one point. Our people are so convinced that we are going to win the war that extensive discussions have been going on as to what we shall do to our present enemies when the fighting is over. The Japanese act is a direct challenge to our belief. It means that they feel strong enough to defy us. Their statesmen have been talking of a 100-year war, and are planning new moves based on the improbability of our being able to defeat them within that time. The Japs we want to punish won't be around then.

On a date not made public, but not long ago, American Marines occupied Funafuti, one of the Ellice Islands in the south Pacific. These islands lie about halfway between Samoa, which is partly American, and the Gilbert Islands, which are British, as are the Ellice Islands. These are low coral atolls but sparsely inhabited. Our occupation was unopposed until April 22, when Jap planes flew over from the Gilberts, which they had previously seized, and bombed our troops. No great damage was done.

Japanese reports, which are far from reliable, state that some Chinese troops have deserted to her side. Such activities are signs that Japan feels she is in a position to go straight ahead with her plan to prosecute the war vigorously.

In Tunisia the Axis holds a position which is roughly shaped like a rectangle, about eighty miles from north to south, and thirty miles from east to west. The north and east sides face the Mediterranean. On the south is the British 8th Army, and on the west the British 1st Army, the American II Corps, and the French XIX Corps, all attacking. During the week ending April 27, the attacks advanced both in the south and on the west, notwithstanding very strong opposition. As these lines are written, the battle has declined in the south, but has flared up in the west, where our troops are advancing towards the Axis base at Bizerte.

There has been intense air activity over Tunisia. An unusually large number of German transport planes are reported shot down. These are huge air ships which carry either freight or passengers, and their loss must be a severe blow to the Axis.

Allied air activity over Europe also continues. Berlin has been bombed again, and so has Rostock, the site of German shipyards. Minor air raids go on day and night, with special attention being given to destroying railroad locomotives, barges on canals, and motor vehicles. This latter feature is with a view to make it more difficult for the Axis to meet our invasion armies when these land on the shores of Europe. COL. CONRAD H. LANZA

## WASHINGTON FRONT

THE Republicans in Congress seem to have stolen a march on their Democratic friends by setting up a postwar committee of their own. Just how far they will go in an isolationist direction or in that of Governor Stassen or Mr. Willkie remains to be seen. Thirty-three politicians from different parts of the country are not likely to be able to agree on anything very definite. But the move will have this value, that it may serve as a weather-vane instructing the country, and the State Department, on public opinion.

Before that, however, the fate of Secretary Hull's reciprocal trade treaties is being treated as a sure sign of how the opposition in Congress, and the Democratic minority of nationalists, are likely to feel about the situation after the war. This is supposed to be notice to Britain and Russia as to how far they can count on us to cooperate with them in setting up a new world order.

It seems to me that this line of argument is a grave mistake. It may have the effect of lining up some doubtful votes in favor of the treaties, but then again it may be a boomerang. In this connection, Senator McNary's proposal that the treaties be subject to later review by Congress is symptomatic of the real state of the case. It is probable that a good majority of Senators are in favor of the treaties in general, though it might be hard to find a majority in favor of any one treaty. The acceptance of the proposal, then, would be tantamount to a rejection of the reciprocal trade treaties in detail.

It is doubtful, however, if this is the design behind the Republican leader's move. The whole trend of this Congress has been to take back from the President the powers it has given him in the past, and the trade treaties represent one of the principal instances of Congressional powers delegated to the Executive. Direct defeat of the treaties, therefore, would not necessarily indicate a pro-isolationist stand, nor would the indirect method of Senator McNary. It would merely mean a further step in Congressional autonomy.

This is not to say that the stand we are likely to take after the war does not remain one of the crucial issues in Washington. In a way, the whole conduct of the war depends on it, for the total strategy of the United Nations must necessarily move in the direction our armies march.

Last week Catholics in Washington had a chance to discuss this problem, when the Catholic Association for International Peace held here one of its sectional meetings, in place of its annual convention. It was the overwhelming conviction of the members present that it would be a tragedy if the United States committed the same error it did the last time and repudiated its world responsibilities. This was a special group, however, who have long given intensive study to the problems involved in preserving the world from the scourge of war. All present felt that it would be well to know if Catholics generally feel the same way about it that they do.

WILFRID PARSONS

# THUNDER ON THE LEFT: POSTWAR STORM BREWING

RT. REV. JOHN A. RYAN, D.D.

FOR several weeks I have been observing statements made by some of our left-wing liberals on the question of the kind of governments that they would like to see established after the war in some of the countries now dominated by or friendly to the Nazis. "Left-wing liberals" is here used not as an epithet but as a convenient descriptive term which is intelligible and not altogether inappropriate. I cite below a few typical expressions of their attitude.

Writing in the *Nation* for February 13, 1943, Lucien Vogel says:

Slowly but surely a pattern is beginning to emerge out of the seemingly inexplicable policies of the American State Department. The deal with Admiral Darlan, the installation of the so-called Council of the French Empire to assist General Giraud, the flirtation with "Otto of Austria," the continued benevolence toward General Franco—all these point to an over-all policy which can no longer be thought of merely in terms of "appeasement." They constitute what might better be termed a "policy of legitimacy." . . .

Legitimacy fits in with the aims of the Vatican, which has in fact through its ambassadors and dignitaries played a considerable part in the direction of this policy in all countries; its role is that of liaison agent, testing the ground and preparing various solutions for individual cases within the framework of the general principle. . . .

The development and application of these solutions can be assured only by the cooperation of the traditional pre-fascist elements of order in all countries, enemy and Allied alike: that is, the diplomatic corps, the army, the high clergy, finance and big industry, and in some cases the large landowners. . . .

The March 6 issue of the same journal carries an article by the editor, Freda Kirchwey, from which I quote the following:

A New Axis is being formed. It runs from Washington to Rome by way of Madrid. Three men are busy bolting it together—Colonel Beigbeder in Washington, Archbishop Spellman in Rome, and Ambassador Hayes in Madrid. . . . The Washington-Madrid-Rome axis has been on the assembly line a long time. But today its mechanics are working fast, tightening the bolts at every joint, because events demand hurried decisions . . . the smiling little Archbishop Spellman, having consulted with both Hayes and Franco in Madrid, was in Rome carrying on extended conversations with the Pope.

About these conversations little has been reported; but the air of Vatican City has been thick with rumors. And it requires only a little understanding of the underlying facts to realize that the Vatican has become the rallying point of the reactionaries of the Continent—pro-Hitler and anti-Hitler alike. A new Holy Alliance is in process of gestation. If it is

finally born it will be composed of conservative Catholic regimes in Poland, Hungary, Croatia, Slovakia, Italy, France, Spain and Portugal, and will not only serve as an antidote to domestic radicalism in each country but provide a counterpoise to a victorious Russia at the peace conference.

*PM* for March 19 contains an article by Max Lerner, professor of political science at Williams College. Here are some extracts:

It is clear that our policy in North Africa no longer can be regarded as merely a State Department affair. It has been given the official approval of both the British and American governments. In its larger outlines it is now a Roosevelt-Churchill policy, although in its immediate tactic it is shaped by Giraud and our minister in North Africa, Robert Murphy. . . .

The question is not one of Giraud versus DeGaulle. It is whether France will be governed by a group based narrowly on an army and administrative clique, or whether its government will be as broadly based as our own. It is whether France will form the heart of a clerical and reactionary Europe, or whether it will try to live in a real Europe which includes the Soviet Union as well. If we throw our energy in the direction of the first kind of France, we are throwing it in the direction of a France and Europe in chaos.

In the same newspaper, April 1, appeared the following paragraphs in an article by Alexander H. Uhl:

In setting up a new Europe we can have two solutions:

We can have a government of extreme Conservatives, the kind of men symbolized by Noguès, Pétain, Peyrouton and even Giraud.

We can help establish governments based on the cross-section of Left to Right, the groups whose varying ideologies are still sufficiently democratic and close to one another to permit the creation of Popular Fronts. . . .

If we are to build a democratic Europe, if we are to build a Europe that Russia, for example, can possibly work with, we will have to build a Europe of Popular Front governments, of governments that represent what Lerner called "that cross-section, from Left to Right," and not on governments that represent only anti-democratic reaction.

An editorial in the *New Republic*, April 12, included this paragraph:

Even more serious was Eden's attempt to link England both with a policy of Russian cooperation and with the present American policy in North Africa and Spain. The two are clearly contradictory. For the pattern of our State Department policy in Europe is the pattern of appeasement of clerical fascist forces in Europe. Politically the only possible logic of this is the logic of building a counterforce to Russia on the European continent. For America

and England to pursue such a policy is clearly incompatible with a policy of collaboration with Russia.

From an article by Robert Reuben, in the same issue of the same journal, I quote this naive and befuddled conception of "democratic" procedure:

If a deal is required, we can make it a great political and psychological victory by following Hamilton's suggestion and establishing in Morocco, or in exile, a truly representative Spanish democratic government composed of exiled republicans in this country, England and Latin America.

To *PM*, April 14, Max Lerner contributed a very clever article entitled, *Enigma of F. D. R.*

There is a tendency among liberals to blame the State Department for our present foreign policy. But while their instinct is probably sound in seeing the State Department as the shaping force, the final responsibility must rest on the President, and I am certain that he would wish it thus.

But to say that is to state the self-evident. What remains is the big enigma about F. D. R.: how someone with his greatness of spirit and his record of liberalism could identify himself with so illiberal and blind a policy as we seem to be pursuing in North Africa, France, Spain, and seem to be preparing toward the rest of Europe. . . .

He is deeply preoccupied with the military aspect of the war, and his natural tendency not to stir up trouble is reinforced in North Africa and Spain by military considerations. Moreover, he leans heavily on such advisers as Leahy, Berle, Bullitt. Add to that his knowledge that a militant American policy of supporting the forces of economic democracy and the underground in Europe might again stir the sleeping dogs of political Catholicism in America. Add to that his liking for power politics and his unwillingness to give the Russians an unnecessary card in the postwar game by helping to create Popular Front governments on the continent. . . .

Where his foreign policy failed signally was in Spain during the Fascist civil war, at Munich when we accepted the betrayal of Czechoslovakia, and now in North Africa. . . .

I believe that the President has it in him to be a great peace leader on a world scale as well as a great war captain. But to do that he will have to break with the policies of his current advisers on foreign affairs, and see the world and the future not through State Department blinkers, but through the eyes of the great democrat that he is himself.

An article by James A. Wechsler in the same issue of *PM* quotes Paul M. Hagen, "veteran anti-Nazi laborite," as charging our Government with "refusing flatly to cooperate with representatives of the underground movement" in Germany, and bitterly denouncing "the fear about the revolution which threatens to come after Hitler's defeat."

The situation rather vaguely indicated in the foregoing extracts shadows forth one of the most important and critical problems that will face the United Nations and many of the European countries after the end of the war. At least two significant facts are fairly discernible now: First, our State Department and the President are not favorable to the attitude of those groups in the United States that hope for "radical" (meaning something short of Communism, yet something nearer to it than to the Christian pattern) post-war democracies in France, Spain, Italy and other countries on the Continent. Second, the phrases, "politico-clericalist," "clerical and reactionary" and synonymous expressions are used by our left-wing liberals with

sufficient frequency to make genuine democrats who believe in religion feel considerably disturbed.

What, if anything, can be done to remove the ground for this apprehension? In the first place, the left-wing liberals should be challenged to answer two questions: "Just what do you mean by a 'politico-clerical' government, and just why do you think that such a regime is likely to be set up in any European country?" If they desire governments that are "anti-clerical" in the old Continental sense, then what they really want is regimes which will deny to the Catholic Church as much freedom as it enjoys in the United States. This is the acid test. If the left-wing liberals demand governments in France, Spain or Italy—or anywhere else—which will give the Church less than this amount of liberty, let them say so frankly; then we shall be certain of what we already suspect, that they are not merely "anti-clerical"; but anti-Catholic and, indeed, anti-religious.

As to the second question, I would point out that the fears about "politico-clerical" governments have no basis in fact. For many years before the present war broke out in 1939, there was no such thing in Europe. If the left-wing liberals have in mind the Franco regime, they ought not to ignore certain qualifying considerations. One of these is that the Falangist party in Spain is really anti-clerical. Let anyone who doubts this read some of the statements made by Serrano Suñer and other leaders of this party during the last seven or eight years. The sum of the matter is that the political history of all the countries of Europe for the last half century provides no basis for the fear that any of them will set up a "clerical" regime after the end of World War II.

The second, and the more important, thing that Christian democrats can and ought to do, is to strive with all their might and with all their intelligence for post-war regimes which will be not only anti-Fascist and genuinely democratic in the strict political sense, but also in the economic and social spheres. One of the quotations from Lucien Vogel (see above) attributes to the "policy of legitimacy" the contemplated cooperation of "the diplomatic corps, the army, the high clergy, finance and big industry, and in some cases the large landowners." According to Mr. Vogel, this is the combination which our State Department and all the other "reactionary" forces desire to see dominant in the governments of postwar Europe. Such a combination would be almost fatal, not only to democracy but to the Catholic cause and to social justice. I am suspicious, or at least skeptical, about the "diplomatic corps, the army and the high clergy" (because I have not forgotten the lessons of France and the French Revolution) but I have no hesitation in declaring that "finance, big industry, and the large landowners" should be permitted to play only a minor role in the postwar political systems.

For a "horrible example," I do not need to go back to the French Revolution. I appeal to the recent history of politics in Spain. In 1936, Gil Robles, the Catholic leader, tried to get through

the Spanish parliament a long overdue bill for the distribution of the large landed estates, but his efforts were blocked by the "rightist" Catholic landowners. If they had read the encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius XI, they probably waved aside these documents, on the assumption that their own selfish interests were paramount and that they themselves were better Catholics than these great Pontiffs. Had they accepted the program proposed by Gil Robles, the 1936 election would not have been won by the Loyalists, and there would have been no civil war in Spain, nor any Communist government nor any Franco government.

More than three-quarters of a century ago, the greatest of Catholic social reformers, Archbishop von Ketteler, wrote these sentences (which I quote from memory): "The man who knows the social

question knows his age; to the man who does not know the social question, both the present and the future are enigmas." So, the Catholic who thinks of the post-war governments in Europe merely in terms of Catholic political philosophy versus secularist and revolutionary political philosophy, or of Catholicism versus "Liberalism," is handicapped by fundamental ignorance. He does not realize that the economic and social aspects of the situation are of primary importance. He will probably take his stand against democracy because the democratic cause has been temporarily usurped by the enemies of religion. Let us all pray and hope that this disastrous mistake will not be repeated by influential Catholics with regard to the kind of governments to be set up in the countries of Europe at the end of this war.

## MORE ROOM WITH ROCHDALE

VIRGINIA CARLSON

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WE were expecting our first child, and we were not happy at the prospect of having only our three-room apartment to offer it as a home. What kind of a home would an apartment be for a child, with no yard to play in, no room of its own, not even an unoccupied corner in which to pile its collection of toys?

We had dreamed of buying a home, but the rent for the apartment was so high, and the amount saved so low, that it punctured even the smallest dreams. Renters we were, and renters we were destined to be.

Fortunately my husband is a curious fellow with a dissenting disposition, and he delights in talking and arguing with people entertaining social philosophies different from his own. One night he came home with two men who talked about cooperatives and Rochdale principles. At the time, those words did not make sense, but there was something very tangible and concrete about their plan for a cooperative housing project. One of their fellow cooperators, a retired Irish mailman, knew of a group of tax-delinquent lots within the city, yet on its outskirts. These could be secured at a nominal cost. Sewage and water were available at city rates. Schools, churches and bus lines were within walking distance, yet cows grazed just beyond the imagined project. If twenty or thirty homes could be built simultaneously, the net cost of each, it was expected, would be low. Materials would be bought in quantity lots. A young architect, who was interested in low-cost housing, had offered his services at a nominal fee, and each dwelling would be planned individually with him. There would be no monotony in this project.

And so we talked and dreamed, and dreamed and talked. Through the winter our new friends came again and again and, with them and others who became interested, we often met at the home of the mailman who had found the available land. Oddly enough, the dream materialized. Two young lawyers who were interested secured quit-claim deeds for the lots from the State. A board of directors, consisting of five men, was elected by the membership for a period of one year, and a charter was granted us by the State of Minnesota. We became incorporated as the Cooperative Housing Project of Saint Paul. Thirty houses, each different, were built within an area of three blocks. The only indication that we are different from any other new community is a sign which we have erected to let those interested know that we will welcome new members and neighbors when home building is again possible.

Thirty-five houses were built in the first group, and all the purchasing of materials was supervised by the board of directors. There were no labor difficulties, as union merchants were hired and union wages paid.

Families were allowed to select not only the type of house they preferred, but their lighting fixtures, linoleum, wall colors, fireplace design, etc.

My husband and I built not just a house, but a strong substantial house, well insulated to withstand Minnesota winters. It is Regency in style, and we have six rooms, three of them bedrooms, a full-size basement, oil-burner, fireplace and garage; and our children not only have a larger-than-average yard to play in, but miles of fields for their sports.

Our first down-payment was very small, much less than the price of a new Chevrolet at that time. Through the F.H.A., a loan was secured for the remainder, and the total monthly payments, including amortization of the loan, taxes, interest and insurance, amounted to only \$39.27, an amount considerably less than we had been paying for rent for the apartment. The only assessments we have had to pay have been for curbing and alleyway, as water and sewage had already been installed and paid for.

Our community is rural in spirit, though urban in actuality. Several of our families have large vegetable gardens, and everyone boasts a flower garden. Even my husband, an incorrigible golfer, found time to keep a beautiful lawn and small garden. Lawyers, mailmen, social workers, policemen and business men, who make up our group, meet monthly to study and discuss the cooperative movement and civic problems. The women have afternoon sewing meetings, first-aid classes, and just plain social gatherings. Some take turns caring for each other's children and, incidentally, eight children have been born within the two years we have lived here, and five babies are expected at the present time.

Garden tools, wheelbarrows, ladders, etc., are almost community property. What one does not have, one borrows, and the exchanging and borrowing seem to work out pretty well to everyone's satisfaction.

Sickness, birth, or death are matters of general concern. I shall never forget the cakes, gifts and good wishes which arrived with the birth of each of my children.

We are no little Utopia. There have been dissatisfactions with the houses (but not with the costs). One family thought the paint job was poor, another disliked the way the linoleum was laid, another the finishing work of the carpenters, but have you ever found anyone who built a perfect house? The spirit of a small town, of being interested in one's neighbor and looking out for his welfare, exists very strongly. The only families to leave have been those of men called into the Service, and they have not sold their homes, but are renting them. We are not all "cooperators"; we do not all have common occupations or interests, but by cooperating in building and beautifying our homes, we have become a closely knit group which none of us has wanted to leave. We dream of a cooperative grocery store, gasoline station, and a cooperative community center. Many of us carry cooperative insurance, life, hospital and medical, and all but one or two families heat their homes with oil from a cooperative concern.

Our family now numbers four, and we are constantly grateful for having been relieved of so many of the worries of a rapidly growing young family of moderate means. When I look at the toys in the dining-room, the play-pen in the living-room, the cribs in two bedrooms, and the wagon in the yard, I wonder what we would have done without the friends who introduced us to the Rochdale principles.

## THE DANES FIGHT ON

MAURICE FELDMAN

A FEW days ago the Danish people were served a warning by the German envoy in Copenhagen, Dr. Werner Karl R. Best. At the same time Dr. Best, one of the Gestapo's most brutal hangmen, issued the following decree to all German officials in Denmark. It says, among other things:

The recent elections in Denmark have shown that the Danish people did not accept their last chance for cooperation with us. The entire Danish people is influenced by the British-American-Jewish plutocracy and by Russian Bolshevism. My superiors, His Excellency Heinrich Himmler and Reichsaussen-Minister von Ribbentrop, ordered me today to consider the entire Danish population as enemies and to treat them exactly as our internal enemies in the Reich. I therefore order all members of the *Geheime Staatspolizei* (Gestapo), of the *Diplomatischen Dienst* and the *Reichswirtschaftsministerium* to fulfil their duties in the spirit of this new decree. A similar decree will be issued by the Commanding General of the occupation troops to all military commanders.

The reason for this sharp decree is the complete failure of the Danish Nazi party at the recent parliamentary elections in Denmark. Dr. Best permitted the elections in the hope that the Nazis would gain many seats in the Parliament. For all parties, except for the Danish Nazis, all means of propaganda were banned. The Nazis were the only ones who had access to press, radio and leaflet propaganda. And the result: the Nazis lost in the Rigsdag (lower house) three of their eight seats.

The Social-Democrats gained twenty-three per cent by increasing their votes to 894,650. The Conservative party of Christmas Moeller, who succeeded in escaping to England and whom the writer interviewed a few months ago in New York, gained forty per cent and received exactly 421,000 votes. All anti-Nazi parties together have now 143 seats against 137 in 1939, and 1,941,600 votes against 1,500,000 votes in 1939.

At the same time, the opposition of the Danish population toward their Nazi rulers becomes more and more active. Since the successful R.A.F. raid on Burmester and Wain, sabotage in various forms has increased in a marked degree in Denmark. From Nazi leader Fritz Clausen comes the cry that the police is quite incapable of finding the guilty persons. Five hundred persons have been examined in the bomb-explosion case at Kolding without result. The *Nordschleswigsche Zeitung*, a German minority paper, says, on March 22, that this is entirely in line with the whole anti-German attitude adopted by schools, churches and other organizations, and it is a wonder that bomb outrages have not occurred before. Young people, in particular, demonstrate their anti-German feelings. In the border areas, several riots and assaults have

taken place, of which the public is not informed.

As to the attitude of the Danish workers, the Nazi paper *Faedrelandet* wrote that "it is certain that the majority think that everything good must come from England and the British Labor party, whereas all that is bad hails from Germany."

In recent weeks the Nazis and the German officials have tried to provoke the Danish workers wherever they can. They invent tales of parachutists coming from England and destroying machinery, of saboteurs dropping bombs upon stores, etc. All this is done to create an atmosphere of fear.

Sabotage by the Danish population avoids any individual acts of terrorism, and is directed toward mass-actions—propaganda among the population and preparation for the day of opening a second front in Europe. Here are some examples of how they work.

Girl guides of the Y.W.C.A. in Copenhagen have observed a "Day of Thought and Reflection," and the Nazi paper *Faedrelandet* brands it as an absurd pro-Ally demonstration.

One of the well known schools in Copenhagen, Oestre Borgerdydsskole, is attacked by the National Socialists. It is characterized as a "Jewish incitement center," and the principal, Ejnar Andersen, is severely taken to task. He does not interfere when the boys maltreat comrades with Nazi tendencies. Moreover, he allows R.A.F. emblems to be worn in his school, and even to be sold, though all foreign flags and emblems are forbidden. A case is quoted where a teacher asked a pupil what the emblem he was wearing stood for. The reply was: "It represents an association whose aim is to eradicate Nazism from Denmark." Whereupon the teacher beamed approval at the boy.

A few weeks ago, the Rifle Guards Association of 1817, whose chairman is Lieut. Col. Chr. Tillisch, heard an address by Colonel L. Bjarkov of the Danish Air Force, on his impressions from an official visit to the R.A.F. some years ago. The hall was packed and all the young people wore the forbidden R.A.F. emblems. The chairman thanked Colonel Bjarkov for his "inspiring report about the R.A.F. men, whom we all admire and look to in anticipation." When the Union Jack appeared on the stage, somebody sat down at the piano and played "God save the King." The National Socialists wrote an open letter to Defense Minister Brorsen and asked him to take action against such an open demonstration for England.

Minister Brorsen said, in answering the Nazi paper's open letter, that he has had no time to read it. As soon as he gets a chance, he will read the open letter and let the editor know what kind of action he will take against Colonel Bjarkov.

The National Socialists also complain about the hostile attitude of the Danish libraries toward the Nazis. In an article the Nazi paper states:

Though the Director of Public Libraries, Th. Doessing has been arrested, unbridled incitement against Nazis continues. Some of the worst anti-Nazi books have finally been removed from the shelves, it is true, but not nearly enough. Doessing's deputy, Library Inspector Robert Lassalle Hansen, seems to have learned absolutely nothing from his chief's

imprisonment. In the official organ of Danish libraries, *The World of Books*, Mr. Hansen prints the cordial thanks of Mr. Doessing to libraries and individuals for the kindness they have shown him in the present circumstances.

The Nazi paper wants to know, in the first place, how it is possible for a prisoner to send messages to the public; and, secondly, why the Minister of Education has not officially dismissed Doessing.

The increasing German censorship of press and radio has gradually led to the production in Denmark of a considerable underground press.

The best known is *Frit Danmark*, which, in its March issue, appeals to the Danish workers not to forget that the First of May is their holiday.

The article continues:

We know, however, that only an Allied victory and the destruction of Fascism can make it possible that the high ideals of liberty and justice, honesty and truth, can reign once more in the world and in our country. And, last but not least, we must never forget that we are not likely to be given anything gratis in this world. We cannot just leave it to the Allies to carry on the struggle against a ruthless and barbaric antagonist without doing something to help. You must join in this battle. Ways and means in occupied countries are different from those used by the nations who have the good fortune to be actively waging war for these high ideals. We shall indicate to you the ways and means, and we repeat most solemnly that you, yourself, must be prepared to participate, so that Denmark be not found wanting in the common fight against the tyrants of the whole world.

Another well known illegal paper is *Land og Folk* (Land and People), another *De Frie Danske* (The Free Danes). The latter gives a list of names of Danish people who cooperate in any way with Fascists. They are also many underground Church papers and three well known illegal labor papers. Two are Social-Democratic, one Communistic.

One of the last papers to appear introduced itself in the following terms:

Our paper is illegal. It is precisely because we are forced to go underground that there is need for a paper like ours in present-day Denmark. We have one aim: the liberty and freedom of Denmark. We belong to one party: Democracy.

Books also are being published illegally. For instance, John Steinbeck's *The Moon Is Down*. Books from before 1914, in foreign languages, may be published, but the translator and publisher must inform the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the intention of publishing at this time.

The Danish Jews are in a state of panic. Five thousand families expect that any day the Nazis will begin a campaign to extirpate them.

As a result, a delegation of the Mosaik Samfund (Jewish Community) has again offered to the King the voluntary internment of all Danish Jews under the protection of the Danish police. However, the King, who had already previously told the leaders of the Mosaik Samfund that to him a Dane is a Dane whether Protestant, Catholic or Jew, has refused the offer. The King is said to have told the Jews: "If anything should ever happen to Danish citizens of Jewish faith, all Danes will declare themselves in complete solidarity."

# FREE-FLOWING CAPITAL AND THE POSTWAR WORLD

WALTER FROELICH

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THE peaceful exchange of goods and services between the inhabitants of different countries is to the advantage of all countries concerned. Such exchange plays an important role in making countries mutually dependent, and thus more amenable to peaceful international relations. This is the thesis of Father Thomas F. Divine, in *AMERICA*, April 10.

Is this statement about "foreign trade" also true in regard to foreign investments ("capital movements")? Is the free international flow of capital mutually advantageous? Is it conducive to peace? What kind of international order is required for a flow of investments? Should such investments be left entirely to the investor and his professional adviser, the investment banker? These are important questions in regard to the peace to come.

After the war the United States will be the only country able to make large-scale foreign investments. In years gone by, German and Japanese investment sometimes has followed political penetration, but has had little importance otherwise. Up to the present, such investment (besides the American) has been largely British and, to a decreasing extent, French and Dutch, etc. With the return of peace, the Continental countries will demand foreign capital. Who will supply it?

The British have lost or liquidated a large part of their foreign investments. Furthermore, they have lost a considerable part of their capital at home through bombings and ship-sinkings, through non-maintenance of non-essential production facilities, etc. Great Britain will have to exert its full strength after the war in order to reconstruct its economy at home; beyond that, it may furnish most of the capital the Dominions and Colonies will require. But the provision of foreign capital abroad will be a problem for the United States.

We usually consider capital-lending as something to be "planned," that is, as the result of a decision of investors to invest abroad. Recent writers, however, have stressed the fact that most foreign investment since 1929 has been "unplanned," in fact, "forced." That applies not only to lending at a fixed interest rate, but also—at least to some extent—to the setting up of enterprises abroad to be managed directly or indirectly from the creditor country.

Some countries (including the United States) have been developing large trade balances. Instead of accepting foreign goods in payment of the trade balances, they have increased their tariffs and

otherwise made repayment more difficult. The trade balances piled up and were partly paid in gold; but to a large extent they remained unpaid and had to be invested in the debtor country. Moreover, some foreign countries (especially Germany) forced such "investment" by not permitting the payment of trade balances and of credits, even in instances where it would have been possible (the well known "freezing" and other devices of monetary control). It goes without saying that this haphazard method of investment is undesirable. Investment, if forthcoming, should be the result of planning by the private investor or agency, not forced by the debtor.

In general, the function of capital lending is to make capital available to less developed countries. In the long run "successful" lending will benefit the lending as well as the borrowing country. In the borrowing country, labor will have the use of additional equipment, will be more productive and thus show higher earnings. In the lending country, only the earnings of the capital lenders will increase at first, but finally, through the spending and investment of earnings, and through the repayment of the initial investment, labor will also benefit.

No doubt, some will consider capital export unfortunate because it seems to reduce employment possibilities at home. There will be, however, a pent-up demand for capital goods and ample investment opportunities at home immediately after the war. Yet, after a few years have elapsed, it is very likely that the same problems will reappear which have bothered us during the last decade. Some economists point out that the slowing down of population increase, the end of the frontier, and perhaps the lack of really basic inventions, have restricted and will restrict the scale of investment opportunities to which we have been accustomed. They look for investment through government planning and foreign investments as necessary for keeping employment at a high level. The less we wish to accept the prevalence of the former, the more we will have to admit the necessity of the latter.

Foreign investment means providing people abroad with capital equipment. It is true that sometimes the borrower country will produce goods which might compete with our goods (like the Indian textile industry equipped with British capital and British machines competing with Lancashire).

shire). On the whole, the greater the economic welfare and productivity in the borrowing country, the greater its market for some of our export goods (not necessarily the same as before). Moreover, the goods the foreign country sells us in normal trade will be available more cheaply.

Of course, such investment—even if desirable from an economic point of view—should not take place if it would endanger permanent peace. It is true that the search for investment outlets has led to frictions in the past. There is now, however, little danger that there will be frictions as a result of conflicts between competing investor nations, since the United States will be the main investor.

Yet, dangers can still arise from conflicts between creditor and debtor nations. Conflicts like those which have arisen in the past from forcing countries to allow investment within their borders are hardly to be expected. Nobody will be forced to accept capital. More often conflicts arose in the recent past because countries were unwilling or unable to let citizens of other countries have their contractual rights enforced, or because there existed differences about the interpretation of contracts. Such conflicts, like some with Central-American countries in the past, or like the more recent problem of the Mexican oil rights, may again occur unless precautions are taken.

These are the most important issues:

1. Sometimes foreign investors will have a natural monopoly for their investment or try to create an artificial monopoly. These monopolies may possibly exploit the people of the debtor country. It will be necessary to find a right way to guarantee creditor rights and yet to restrict undue monopoly exercise. The problem is somewhat easier if the monopoly sells mainly abroad (like tin and rubber); then the debtor country often prefers to share in the monopoly profits.

2. The interest rates for these loans will be very high, owing to the "expected" insecurity of the investment; yet conflicts arise whenever the debtor defaults.

3. Repayment may be made more difficult by changes in the trade relations of the debtor country, especially if due to tariff increases or other import restrictions abroad. Relatively free trade relations are a prerequisite of capital movements.

4. The possibilities of repayment will also depend somewhat on the international monetary relationships, especially on the stability of exchange rates (a problem of great importance which cannot be discussed here).

5. Private investors have not been very successful when lending to governments, and only slightly more successful when lending and investing privately abroad. In the long run, foreign investments have shown less average profit than home investments. The investment bankers have often made large profits by underwriting and distributing securities, but it cannot be maintained that this is true for the investor. We have only to remember the selling of German securities after the war, and also the history of some South-American securities. This may not have been the bankers' fault, but it

shows that supplementary advice or regulation may be desirable.

Thus, we can outline the postwar situation. The natural fields for investment will obviously be Latin America and China. Their development is desirable from the political, humanitarian and economic point of view. There will be need for investment in Europe also. The end of the war will find German industry very strongly developed (except in the case that there should be fighting on German soil for several years). The surrounding countries will be largely devastated and thoroughly weakened. It has been the deliberate policy of Germany to concentrate all European industry (plus scrap and tools) within its borders. It will be necessary in the interest of peace to reverse this process in order to strengthen the other European countries lest they again become economically dependent on Germany.

This is especially true for the Eastern countries. Hardly any system of collective security can give full assurance to these countries, which are not easily accessible by sea; they must, therefore, have some industry and a stock of trained industrial workers and managers, in the interest of peace.

Private lending presupposes an internal "juridical order" (a rule of law, a court, a sheriff). International lending requires (in addition to an internal order) an effective international "juridical order." To avoid frictions, it will be necessary to have international courts or international arbitration for commercial relations, at least for those of greater importance. This arbitration can be well coordinated with whatever kind of international political organization is established.

Lending should be long-term lending in order really to help the debtor; preferably it should be for productive purposes which are self-liquidating. Some short-term lending can be justified, but there are distinct limits, since sudden withdrawal may spell disaster for the debtor. Some loans to governments, selected with care and properly supervised (like the League-supervised credits to Austria and Hungary), will do much good. In our type of economy the investment will be largely private investment. Except for Great Britain and the Dominions, this lending will have to be supplemented and organized with the help of public agencies. Such institutions as an international institute for foreign investment (somewhat similar to the Basel B.I.S.), or an international development authority, or an agency patterned after the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, have been proposed. The risks and problems of lending will, in the future, be more dependent on political developments than on purely economic factors. Thus, governmental coordination will be unavoidable; but government action should not be left alone in this field lest political problems entirely dominate the situation.

Despite all these difficulties, such lending (including some postwar lend-lease) will be necessary. Only by helping the development of the weaker ones among the United Nations can we hope that these countries will be strong enough and willing to collaborate for collective security and peace.

# ALCOHOL AND HAIR-SHIRTS

DANIEL M. O'CONNELL

WITHOUT any fanfare, General George C. Marshall, as Chief of Staff of the U. S. Army, signed an order on January 25, 1943, renewing a forty-two-year-old prohibition of hard liquor in the military establishments of the United States. The immediate effect of this stroke of the pen was to return 5,000,000 enlisted men and 700,000 officers in camps, etc., to the beer or light wine of 3.2 per cent alcoholic content, decreed by Congress in 1933 to be the non-intoxicating ration. The latter law was one of the tombstones on the grave of national prohibition. Rather surprisingly, though, the age of the law invoked by General Marshall goes back to 1901, when Congress forbade "beer, wine and any intoxicating liquors" upon "any premises used for military purposes by the United States." Moreover, General Marshall had no choice in the matter, as his attention was called officially to the law by the insistent Borough of Collingwood, N. J., which, having voted itself bone-dry by local referendum, insisted on its army camp being likewise.

It is doubtful that this act of the Jersey village is just a straw in the wind. There are other indications that Federal Prohibition will raise again its once powerful voice. Occasionally, too, there is encouraging action showing that the evils of alcohol are being met, in sane ways, by responsible people. Thus, Governor Dewey of New York recently signed a bill relieving from the threat of civil or criminal action persons who, according to law, must refuse to sell alcoholic beverages to "minors, apparently intoxicated persons or habitual drunkards." Distilleries are no longer making alcohol for intoxicating drinks. But as the quantity of the same diminishes, so its prices rise. Strong drinks are definitely in the "luxury" class for the duration, except for the black market of the bootlegger and his murderous desperadoes. On such a scene, twenty-five years ago, Federal Prohibition found an easy entrance as a war measure, to be followed by a Constitutional Amendment for peace times. Are we to see a repetition of both?

Under these circumstances, possibly General Marshall and his confreres are well satisfied that the new regulations will provide sufficient alcoholic entertainment in the camps for the vast majority of the soldiers, who, it may be believed, are not so much interested in the amount of alcohol in their beer as in the project of being allowed some kind of beer. As a matter of fact, the amount of alcohol in most American beer is just 3.5 per cent. Dr. Merrill Moore, a well known psychiatrist, a specialist on alcoholism and now a Major in the army, wrote on the subject of the alcoholic soldier in the autumn issue of *The Military Surgeon*: "I, for one,

think emphatically that beer should be sold and that drinking in moderation should be encouraged." He adds that "the alcohol problem in military service is essentially an emotional or personality problem, just as it is in civilian life."

The same Major Moore quotes a fellow officer to the effect that the military police should be more active, and penalties for drunkenness be increased, but equally or more important is the second item in the prescription, viz., more recreation and diversion. There is no reason, declares Dr. Moore, why the American military men, in any branch of the service, should not be as well trained through appeal to their morale as the outstanding football teams of our American colleges and universities. If, as Dr. Moore notes, there is every indication that the young Nazis who invaded France in 1940 had been trained as rigorously as football players in American universities, then there had been no alcohol drunk in either group.

But just a small "WHY"? Why should total abstinence be limited to American athletes and Nazi military men?

Many temperance advocates, such as Father Cullen, Irish Jesuit, and the better-known Irish Capuchin, Father Mathew, and many priests today, find that total abstinence is their greatest weapon in their warfare on drunkenness. They need fear no contradiction from the medical profession. Thus the spiritual profession of the priesthood, in a like way, accepts the facts of nature to warn of danger and to point to the good; the one to a physical good, the other to a spiritual blessing, in addition, from total abstinence.

The care that should be had in presenting scientific facts rather than personal theories in regard to the physical effects of alcohol has a modern illustration in an article by Anne Roe in the current *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, published at Yale University. The author made a nationwide survey of textbooks on hygiene. She found that certain of these books "contain many scientifically unsound statements. Two of these books stated that three ounces of alcohol are a fatal dose, although many persons take that amount at a single sitting." Cancer and hardening of the arteries are not directly attributable to alcohol, despite certain of these texts; and such a statement is not only "pedagogically unsound, but unwise as well," Miss Roe moralizes. She prefers rightly to put the evil in its true light. For example, she briefly states, of alcohol as a food: "While it contains many calories of energy, it lacks completely all vitamins, minerals and proteins necessary to health, and for this reason chronic alcoholics have many diseases which are due not to the alcohol directly but to resulting dietary deficiency." With such a scientific indictment of the evil, Miss Roe bewails "the attempt to create a generation of total abstainers (while overlooking) the more immediate opportunity for teaching control of excessive drinking." However, if philosophical man is not converted by a mere syllogism, I fear that temperance will not be promoted by the fear of vitamin and similar deficiencies alone.

The religious side of temperance in alcohol comes to the fore during Lent. In its ferial hymn for Matins, "may we," we sing, "use sparingly speech, food and drink":

*Utamur ergo parcus  
Verbis, cibis et potibus.*

Unfortunately for the cause of total abstinence as a continuous outstanding Christian virtue, it suffers from what might be called a lack of spiritual publicity. Practically, it is seriously urged only during Lent. For instance, it does not have a weekly Friday of total abstinence or a four-times-a-year Ember week to remind forgetful human nature that the Church recommends total abstinence from liquor as an all-year, day-in and day-out exercise of self-denial, penance and imitation of our Saviour's thirst on the Cross; as a more perfect act than a temperate use of liquor; as an easier act than fasting and abstinence. The latter fact was emphasized this year, as, owing to the war, many of the Bishops found it advisable to mitigate or remove entirely the fast and abstinence prescribed as a penance for Lent; but in doing so several of the Ordinaries recommended as a practical substitute the total abstention from intoxicating liquor. This is probably the latest instance of the Church's approval through the ages of total abstinence. Her ascetical writers have frequently urged it as a matter of voluntary discipline.

On the other hand, there has been a diminution in this country of any crusade for total abstinence. I refer in particular to the so-called "pledge" to abstain from all intoxicating liquors which is taken by children at their first Holy Communion or Confirmation and by Religious and priests at their profession or ordination. Just why such a decline should be the case, or how it came about over a period of years, is an open question. With many, whose judgment I respect, I have always seen a connection in this phenomenon between our recent national prohibition by Constitutional Amendment and the decline in the advocacy, if not the practice, of total abstinence and the increase in the consumption of hard liquor; but I have been rebuked by believers in the potency, if not the virtue, of federalized Prohibition. However, the two camps should agree on the present-day advisability of promoting temperance by its own appeal to an individual's conscience. The Church has followed this practice; her appeal for temperance and total abstinence has been to religious motives. Father Cullen, referred to above, chose for his very successful organization the title "Total Abstinence League of the Sacred Heart." Among natural helps for temperance, he founded his "no-treat" pledge. It lessened the temptations, first for excessive drinking, and then for drunkenness—in other words, the occasion for sin, venial or mortal, in gluttony, for there are venial as well as mortal sins of drink. The "no-treat" league helped in bringing home to the individual that for many, perhaps for himself, one drink, one modern cocktail, was a red light, warning that self-control was in danger. Moral theologians have been twitted for not defining a mortal sin of drunkenness in mathematical terms, in the

exact amount of liquor that can be consumed, rather than in the only definition possible—that of the state of mind and will produced in an individual by excessive drinking. The fun-pokers often miss the point that a venial sin of too much liquor is a greater offense against the Creator of human nature than all the physical evils of war. They can be more useful to the social cause, and at the same time taste of martyrdom, by advocating Father Cullen's "no-treat" for cocktail parties!

For, contemporary with the decline of the pledge among the groups mentioned above, has been the general approval of strong liquors among all classes. For example, just how young a person must be to rank as ineligible for the cocktail party is difficult to ascertain. There is no distinction apparent at such parties between a young woman, even a girl, and a male of the same age, though nature seems to have made the female more susceptible to the deleterious influences of alcoholic drinks than the male. What the English and other foreigners call "teas" are, for the natives, cocktail parties, the tea being almost as scarce as it was after the party that made Boston of that day more famous than New York. But are alcohol and tea exchangeable and equally innocuous in their effects? The moral factors involved make the question and answer serious. There is no likelihood of a venial sin in several cups of tea. The same number of cocktails—and the number is often urged on guests—may produce a loss of self-control in the drinker which objectively constitutes a venial sin of intemperance. It is this modicum of the virtue of temperance which I think has been nonchalantly pushed aside by the general enunciation of the principle that there is no harm in taking a drink or by the general defense-complex shown in the common expression, "I know when I have had enough." Such standards of morality should also include lesser offenses of intemperance, offenses against man's dignity as the image of God—what are called venial sins or imperfections.

While the penitential season of Lent, through which we have passed, is a great help to the proper Christian perspective of temperance and total abstinence, the rest of the year is far from being a closed season for the practice of these virtues, the simple fact being that the commandment of temperance holds at all times and seasons. Justice says, "thou shalt not steal" *at any time*. We understand that and, in addition, the precept has the reminding power of the civil law to make it vivid. Temperance speaks with the same authority in regard to food and drink, but it imposes much more personal reasoning than the ordinary law of not stealing. One must listen to the dictate of conscience saying: this amount of food is intemperate for this one; so much alcoholic drink is intoxicating for this one; not in an abstract amount for this one, but in the consequences which he knows will result in his own case. The matter of urging strong drink on others, especially on the young and on women, is not then such a blameless American indoor and outdoor sport. Temperance is not merely a Lenten—may I say—hairshirt.

## MR. BROWN HEDGES

LATE reports from Washington indicate that Prentiss Brown, OPA Administrator, has backed down on his projected plan to require grade labeling for the 1943 pack of certain canned foods. For several weeks now, it has become increasingly apparent that Mr. Brown, seemingly frightened by the well-organized opposition of canning and grocery interests and the mutterings of a minority in Congress, was looking for a face-saving way to retreat from his original position. Indeed, testifying before a House Committee in April, he frankly suggested that, in view of the bitter controversy stirred up by grade labeling, Congress ought to indicate its mind on the matter and not leave him to make the decision alone. But Congress, showing no great eagerness to decide the specific and unwelcome regulations which must be made if its anti-inflation legislation is to be effective, has refused by default to rush to the assistance of the harassed Price Administrator. And so Mr. Brown, left on the spot between the attacks of the canning industry and the pleas of many consumer groups, is now reported ready to compromise the issue. The OPA, it is said, will not demand grade labeling, but will be satisfied if canners and wholesalers indicate the quality of their goods on the invoices of retailers.

This solution will be as satisfactory to the canning and grocery interests as it will be unsatisfactory to consumers who, under its provisions, will not be effectively protected against deteriorations in quality. That Mr. Brown has elected thus to hedge rather than to stick to his guns is most regrettable. When he was appointed to replace Leon Henderson, it was widely affirmed that OPA needed a politician, skilled in the art of compromise, who could placate the various interests whose feelings had been ruffled by Mr. Henderson's hardboiled ways. If the decision to abandon grade labeling is an example of the art of compromise in price control, then heaven help the nation's consumers. For price fixing without complementary control of quality and quantity is a cruel mockery which, instead of preventing rises in the cost of living, only disguises them.

The unwelcome truth is that a rationing and price-fixing program needs, above all, a strong administrator who has the courage to stand by consumers and withstand pressure groups, even if the latter command isolated support in Congress. The flabby decision on grade labeling means that Mr. Brown has come to a parting of the ways. He can choose to make price ceilings mean price ceilings, or he can elect to compromise. In the former event, this capable public servant may conceivably jeopardize his political future; in the latter, he will most certainly jeopardize the whole anti-inflation program. If the housewives of the country are really interested in price control, they ought to deluge Mr. Brown's office with offers of support—and they ought to do it at once. To expect him to hold the line alone is asking altogether too much of human nature.

EDIT

## JEFFERSON ON RELIGION

IN this bicentennial Jefferson year, much ink flows in recollection of our third President and venerable member of the Virginia Dynasty. His interpreters make Liberalism the keynote of these memorials. With the anachronisms typical of careless scribes, that spirit, be it virtue or fault, is made to cover his every deed from the Declaration of Independence to the Louisiana Purchase and the foundation of the University of Virginia. His politics they now call the "liberal philosophy of change," a Deweyite phrase for his view that each generation should make its own laws, on the principle that "the earth belongs to the living, not to the dead."

On the score of religion, hacks tag him with the same Liberalism, for, they say, he held to no religious system, nay, he held a certain scorn for traditional religious principles, using as his yardstick "the philosophy of change."

Now it is interesting to see how the hack historian differs from the trained man, in a nice regard for facts as they occurred. In this case a trained historian has just given a verdict on the point. The historian is George H. Knoles of Leland Stanford University. His verdict, expressed in measured and accurate lines, reads something like this: if you would know what Jefferson thought, read not only his words but also his deeds. His words will prove him anything from a mystic to an agnostic. His actions—! There's the rub. He was a devout member of the Episcopalian Church.

In that Church he was baptized, married and buried. He attended services most regularly, read his Book of Common Prayer attentively and earnestly enough to cause his family and neighbors high edification, gave generously and constantly of his means for the parish support. To those who knew him he was a model parishioner, and he saw to it that his children and grandchildren followed the same pattern. By this test, surely a sound one, Jefferson was a religious man.

It is heartening to have this proof of sincerity in the memorable words of the Declaration: "appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions." He lived those words, in his prayer, his acts of worship and in his admirable private life.

## MOTHER'S DAY

THE ferry from New Jersey back to New York was crowded with factory workers coming home. There were perhaps two hundred men and a goodly sprinkling of women. They were, please God, all good souls, but there was a roughness and a coarseness about them that was quite noticeable and, lamentable above all, the women shared it. There was a deal of shouting back and forth, of rough kidding and joking, and the women held their own with the best, or worst, of it.

Through the Mid-West, women are doing a lot of work on the railroads, handling baggage, oiling and inspecting trains. Up in New England, reports of the living conditions of women war workers in the trailer camps are stark omens of the fact that women are, indeed, in these cheapening ways, living out more and more their "equality" with men.

Now, much of this may be absolutely unavoidable. The country needs women war workers, and the sacrifice must be made. But in this atmosphere of the coarsening of womanhood, there must be, at the very least among us Catholics, a determined and conscious holding fast to the ideals of womanhood that are, or ought to be, enshrined in Mother's Day.

The ideal woman is not shaped by the stridency and dehumanization of war, the ideal woman is not the female guerilla, the masked and slacked welder and riveter. War may cast women in those strange and necessary roles, but it must not cast our thinking of women to that low and materialistic level.

The ideal woman, in God's plan, is the woman consecrated to love—either of God exclusively or of God and home, or, for a minority, of God and a career. The ideal woman is either mother or virgin—since none but one can ever be both Mother and Virgin.

With women at war, then, Mother's Day takes on a new spiritual significance. Prayer to Our Lady must be strong and surging that, with all the toughness of the world, our women come through it all still women, not vulgar copies of the worst in man. Shakespeare's index of true womanhood remains true: "Her voice was ever soft, Gentle and low, an excellent thing in woman." May Mother's Day help to save our women from stridency.

## POLAND AND RUSSIA

NET result of the diplomatic conflict between the Soviet Government and the Polish Government-in-Exile appears to be twofold. First, it appears that it is far better for the cause of the United Nations that the grievances and feelings of both parties be thoroughly aired, than that things be allowed to proceed from bad to worse behind a screen of silence. It is impossible to mention the conflicting claims without arousing very deep concern and emotion, but the experience of the last few days has shown the unwisdom of ignoring issues which the respective nations will have either to settle somehow between themselves, or refer to the United Nations for the final decision.

The Poles see the question of their eastern boundaries settled in advance, unilaterally, by Soviet Russia. They see as an immediate corollary to this "settlement" a compulsory Russian citizenship decreed for some 2,000,000 Poles forcibly deported from Poland into the interior of Russia and Siberia. Among those transported, according to a resolution recently adopted by the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, "were 800,000 Polish children, of whom 400,000 have perished." "Baseless claims" by the Russians to large sections of old Poland are also a burden of Polish complaint. On the other hand, the Soviet professes alarm over the demands by the Poles for the recovery of territory inhabited by people of non-Polish extraction, such as the White Russians and Ukrainians. Any discussion of these boundaries, however, will not be made with Russia alone, but must consider the rival claims of the lesser nationalities.

The Goebbels propaganda muddied the waters by its clever manipulation of the Polish accusations; while the Soviets followed tradition by refusing to answer inquiries, childishly accusing the Polish Government-in-Exile of conspiring with the Axis. But this does not alter the fact that the issues are still there, and can never be settled peacefully except through a general adherence to some clear principles of international organization.

The second result of the affair is simple and closely related to the first: that it is best policy to talk plainly with Mr. Stalin, and do some hard bargaining with him, as he does hard bargaining with the rest of the world. That is the language he speaks, that is the language he understands. He has begun his peace-time bargaining now; has told us what he wants to get and asks what we want to do about it. At the same time, he desires to know what we wish to do to him. We should naturally prefer to leave the discussion to happier times. But since they have been started, it is time to lay our cards upon the table as to the principles by which any future boundary settlements must be decided. These are principles of basic human rights. But as an integral part of those principles we need to make clear that time of war is no time for Russia or any other country to fix on the concrete applications of these same principles in boundary issues. This clarity should be final.

## PRISONERS IN JAPAN

IF the modern world has been unable to abolish war, that endemic scourge of a fallen humanity, it has at least felt obliged to try to wage it in a way that would not be unnecessarily debasing to our civilization. If we have to fight, the nations say in effect, let us fight as civilized peoples. Of the many provisions to this end, those relating to the treatment of war prisoners have been among the most important and, in general, the best observed. With all the evils of our world, we had this small crumb of comfort that we had actually come a long way from barbaric times in the treatment of prisoners of war.

The supervision of international conventions in the treatment of prisoners has been a task willingly assumed and ably carried out by the neutral nations. To the prisoners of war, cut off from the protection of their own governments and helpless in the hands of enemies, the neutral powers represent civilization. But the neutrals themselves depend upon that civilization for their effectiveness. They can bring no force to bear upon a belligerent except that of respect for our common humanity, for the nation's pledged word, for civilization.

The appeal to humanity and civilization has now failed in Tokyo.

The Japanese Government, having executed some of our flyers who were captured after the raid on Tokyo, accuses them of having bombed and machine-gunned civilians. For this accusation not a shred of evidence has been produced. On the other hand, the State Department makes it clear that the airmen were under strict orders to confine themselves to military targets, and that this was done. The narrative of one of the flyers who returned shows that the aim of the attackers was certain very precise targets. His plane, he said, passed over more than one tempting and vulnerable military objective which they left behind to go on to their assigned operation.

In any event, if there was question of an accusation of bombing civilians, the time to make it is not after the men have been killed and are unable to defend themselves. The international convention, to which Japan had pledged herself, provided a definite procedure for accusation and trial. The Swiss Minister, as representative of the Protecting Power, should have had access to the prisoners; a trial should have taken place, with the accused properly represented; the sentence should have been communicated to the United States three months before being carried out; the prisoners could not be convicted on their own alleged confessions. If the Japanese had had a scrap of evidence that could have stood the test of a court, they had a magnificent opportunity to produce it, and to blast our reputation before the world. Instead, they have chosen to smear the reputation of our dead flyers.

What the Tokyo Government expected to achieve is not easy to see. The outcome, however, has been to strengthen American determination to fight on and to win.

## RELIGIOUS UNITY

WILL the war promote religious unity? Will it in any way tend to lessen the division of Christendom? These are questions which are being very widely asked at the present time.

If we try to answer them, we shall note that the times are in some ways favorable to the cause of Christian unity; in some ways unfavorable.

Favorable to unity is the growing sense, among the non-Catholic bodies, of the evil of religious dissension. It is seen as an evil to religion itself, weakening and finally destroying its influence. Events of the war have shown, too, that religious dissidence, instead of promoting freedom, is a path to political slavery.

Practical problems of the war and the postwar period have thrown into sharp relief the impracticability, from a spiritual standpoint, of a divided Christianity. This is seen in the complications attending the spiritual ministry to the armed forces. These complications are in part overcome by patience and good sense, but no amount of patience can cure the essential defects of religious division in time of war. The need of finding a spiritual foundation for any lasting social policies has taught the same lesson in another form.

Etienne Gilson, the historian of philosophy, asks: "Can a social order, begotten by a common faith in the value of certain principles, keep on living when all faith in these principles is lost?"

On the other hand, violent times arouse latent prejudices into violence. Religion, in too many instances, is so associated with national feeling as to make it hard for us to distinguish between the two. There is always the danger, as well, that the intense sympathy Catholics must necessarily feel toward those outside the Church in their struggle to attain Christian unity, may cause us to forget the great truth, that Christian religious unity is not something to be *constructed*, like the unity of a divided political party or of a broken and scattered army. It is something to be *regained* by those who have lost it. It is to be rediscovered, but is forever existing; for we have always with us the One Fold and the One Shepherd, to which the world must return; not something that the world, even its best and noblest spirits, can create.

What terms and moments the grace of the Holy Spirit has set for hastening the world's return to the Fold of Christ is a mystery of God's Providence. But it is no secret that we can work with that Providence, and help to speed the plans of the Good Shepherd Himself. Our privilege, as members of that Fold, places on us a grave responsibility not to misrepresent in any way, by rigor or by laxity, the true picture of the Saviour's invitation. We shall fail His own designs if we forget that the "other sheep" outside the Fold are none the less His sheep; that they belong *now* to Him. Some day the question will be asked of us, whether our lives, our words, our example, worked with His life and words and example, smoothing their path back to the unity of that Fold which is their home as well as ours.

# LITERATURE AND ARTS

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## GOOD BOOKS ON LATIN AMERICA

W. EUGENE SHIELS

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LIBRARIANS, lecturers and journalists are besieged today by an army of requests from the reader front of America. What are some good books on the Other Americas? Business men want to see their representatives well instructed before sending them southward. Directors of study clubs, and many of the general public, are searching for a correct picture of our American neighbors.

One who attempts to discuss this question may well find himself in the state of fabled Abou ben Adhem—"may his tribe increase!" As he faces the query, he stands in imagination before the shelves of some great Latin-American Library—the Ayer Collection of the Newberry, the special sections of the John Carter Brown or the Widener, the Bancroft, or the noble Congressional. In sight of the tens and hundreds of thousands of books in the field, he realizes at once that he knows but a fraction of the totality. And his problem becomes the choice of certain clear formulas of selection, none of them absolutely perfect, though perhaps workable enough to produce a short and reliable list.

At the outset two generalizations should be stated. The first is to form a careful judgment of the books written about Latin America by journalists. The second point touches the fundamental fact that we must learn where those countries are, and how their people talk and live, before we can understand their manner of life and their culture.

John Whitaker, Carleton Beals, John Gunther, Luis Quintanilla, Waldo Frank and Evelyn Waugh typify the journalistic composer. These men write under the stress of some current public emotion—the danger of Fascism below the Rio Grande, a fever of Pan-Americanism, sympathy with the Indianist movement, or worry over the Mexican oil controversy and its impact on British and American interests. Their books quickly become dated, for the simple reason that the treatment is often as full of prejudice as of emotion and, though it be factual, it will likely be superficial.

Now any book has certain rudimentary values, if only it will entertain someone sufficiently for him to read it. But there are interesting books which have little to teach us. Take the books most commonly mentioned: *Inside Latin America*, by John Gunther; *America Hispana*, by Waldo Frank; *A Latin American Speaks*, by Luis Quintanilla. All of

these books are endowed with high interest. They are written in dynamic style, with such a tone of mastery as to overpower the novice in the field. They carry large quantities of accurate data, boiled down and capsule for easy assimilation. They deal with a live view of the topic. Thus far they have their merit.

It is only when we come to the matter of interpretation in their pages that the crisis of judgment is reached. Books may contain exact and accurate detail of fact. They may portray their object in sharp outline. Yet if they fall short of penetration, or of objectivity, by that much they lose their power of teaching or delighting the reader. We have seen some of the books written about us by foreigners who paid short visits to our country and then went home to write our story for their countrymen. How often they wrote a caricature of our life, in some such tome as *America Comes of Age* by André Siegfried, or Charles Dickens' older *Martin Chuzzlewit*. Ugarte wrote of us in distressing tones for Latin Americans. Not many have done so faithful a picture as Alexis de Tocqueville, whose *Democracy in America* we study today, or James Bryce in *The American Commonwealth*.

Two years ago, historians in convention assembled coined the word, "to Guntherize," to denote the process of spoon-feeding infant readers with a kind of iron ration that defies assimilation. They added a truism, that it would take as many years to correct the mistakes in J. G. as it took him days to put his book together. Waldo Frank is a perennial favorite for makers of high-school reading lists. He writes well. Occasionally he pays a quite notable tribute to certain spiritual ideals. He is interested in his topic, and tells an interesting story. The difficulty is that most of his conclusions are merely wishful thinking.

Of Quintanilla it seems proper to remark that, despite his frank goodwill and equally frank criticism, the Señor projects his personal views so strongly that the work loses objectivity, and its principal value thus becomes propagandist. Its evident propaganda point is better Inter-American relations, a point made by playing up Bolívar and his Pan-American ideas, and by playing down the Monroe Doctrine as the root of Inter-American irritations. (Did he ever hear of General Sheridan at

the Rio Grande in 1866?) Behind that emotional front, he talks his declared Socialism from start to finish and, as Latin America is far from Socialist in thought and life, his picture lacks soundness of interpretation.

Apparently it is the rare journalist or traveler who comes to know his country. If he does, and if he can tell its story somewhat as Morton did for the several European countries of which he wrote—and as Waugh does for Mexico—even if he fall short of scholarly perfection, his book will nevertheless serve a sound purpose. He will convey the true spirit of his subject, and so will write truth.

In writing of Latin America this point deserves emphasis. It might be stated by its contrary: one who has no sympathy for the subject cannot write of it with satisfaction. A notable historian said that in his earlier works he wrote "just like an old hardshell," and there are others who try to be objective while they denounce the very core of life in Latin America, the religious basis of its culture. Many, while assuredly not of the Faith there prevailing, are yet not out of sympathy with the work and influence of the Church in the other American Republics. With Chapman they may say that "it is the strongest force for the support of public authority and private morality in those lands." Authors who maintain this cardinal principle of composition will be found to give, to that extent, a sound interpretation to many phases of life in Latin America. To condemn the Church there is as fatal to a good book as to condemn representative government in our country. One who does that produces a blurred picture.

Our books, then, will be chosen for the average university student. They will be interesting, not too heavy, and truthful in fact and interpretation. Will they include what we call the great books? Books are great if they tell a great truth in a great manner. They may be of many types, epic poems, dramas, studies in science, philosophy, biography, social life or history. Torres-Rioseco thinks that the book of Bernal Diaz on the conquest of Mexico belongs in this category. It is a rare tribute, for such books are few, and we should not limit our choice only to them. Nor should we choose the third and fourth types of books—those accurate in detail but unsound in total impression, nor the last type of the thoroughly vicious books, false in fact, hateful in attitude, written to vilify and destroy. That third class would include works such as Ugarte's *Destiny of a Continent*, a curious mixture of thesis, hypothesis and data. Of the fourth class, it is better to pass them by in silence, though they are not wanting in the lists of libraries, under names like Emilio Portes Gil.

What fields should be covered by these books? One of them should certainly tell us of the geography, physical and human, of the nineteen republics. Perhaps a bit of political geography would suit the purpose. Chatham House some years ago published a valuable work done by the Royal Society on the *Republics of South America*. And lately we have had the thorough study of Preston James on the *Human Geography of Latin America*.

For a background of the entire continental history there is the little classic of William R. Shepherd, the *Hispanic Nations of the New World*. Chapman's *History of Hispanic America* tells the story in larger compass and with equal attractiveness. Charles Lummis's *Spanish Pioneers* portrays the early heroes, and Samuel E. Morison in his *Admiral of the Ocean Sea* covers the broad narrative of the discovery in eminent manner. Lewis Hanke's *First Social Experiments in America* is a brilliant essay on early Hispaniola. Colonial life appears at its best in Herbert E. Bolton's *Outposts of Empire*, while the native spirit has never been more faithfully depicted than in *The Journey of the Flame* of Alfredo Fierro-Blanco.

Of later date, a splendid biography is *Don Pedro the Magnanimous*, the emperor of Brazil, by Mary Williams. Father Magner's *Men of Mexico* takes one through the whole history of that country. Calogeras wrote an excellent *History of Brazil*, as did Galdames for Chile and Levene for Argentina. On the *Church in South America*, Father Ryan has the clearest study. The *Epic of Latin American Literature*, by Torres-Rioseco, will long hold a unique place in its field, a field beautifully exemplified in *Fiesta in November*, by Flores and Poore. Finally the list should include what is probably the best overall view of Latin America today, the book edited by Arthur P. Whitaker and entitled *Inter-American Relations, 1941*.

One great problem confronts us here. We see before us many countries, of widely varied antecedents, varied climate and resources, varied forms of language, song and story. Peoples of one land dislike being included in any group of them all. How can we, in a few books, do justice to this multiplicity of subjects?

The solution lies in the fact that the Americas below the Rio Grande have several important factors in common, due to three centuries of colonial life under an efficient, cultured and highly paternal rule. There has resulted a considerable uniformity in their manner of life, even though they live in regions widely diversified, and in regimes marked by a strikingly nationalistic spirit. They have a common problem presented by the ever-present "political liberal" and his French anti-clericalism. They experience everywhere the character called the *patrón*, the great landed leader whose rule makes for a uniform type of economy and a marked social stratification. Their university practice derives in a direct line from Coimbra and Salamanca. Their journalism, and their literary style, though up-to-date, have a flavor that is distinctly Iberian.

Even their heroes—and these cannot be passed over if we would know their hearts—are as similar to each other as they are unlike ours. There is definitely a culture called Latin American, which they call "ours," which the general reader can find without too long a course of study, provided only that he read the books that genuinely portray the thoughts, the land, and the typical—that is, the best—people who have lived and now live in Latin America.

# BOOKS

## MEASURING THE MASTERS

THE MACHIAVELLIANS. By James Burnham. The John Day Co. \$2.50

MACHIAVELLI, in his *History of Florence*, quoted by Mr. Burnham, tells his fellow citizens: "What action of yours can counterpose against the sweetness of Liberty? For what can you do to expunge the desire of it out of the Hearts of the People. Nothing at all . . ."

Mr. Burnham, apparently, believes that liberty is desirable; that a minimum of liberty may be attainable, but only if those who guide the destinies of society purge themselves of myths, adopt a strictly scientific point of view, and recognize, as did Machiavelli, Sorel, Mosca, Pareto and other great "realists," how society is really run. The following are some of the high points of his thesis (p. 225; the parentheses are his):

7. The primary object of every élite, or ruling class, is to maintain its own power and privilege.

(The contrary view holds that the primary object of the rulers is to serve the community. This view is almost invariably held by all spokesmen for an élite, at least with respect to the élite for whom they are speaking. Among such spokesmen are to be numbered almost all of those who write on political and social matters.)

8. The rule of the élite is based upon force and fraud. The force may, to be sure, be much of the time hidden or only threatened; and the fraud may not entail any conscious deception.

(The contrary views hold that social rule is established fundamentally upon God-given or natural right, reason or justice.)

9. The social structure as a whole is integrated and sustained by a political formula, which is usually correlated with a generally accepted religion, ideology, or myth.

(Contrary views hold either that the formulas and myths are "truths" or that they are "unimportant as social factors.")

From this vantage point Mr. Burnham can easily dispose of any view, philosophy, principle, religion or "myth" that he chooses. Professing to reject absolutes, among which are religion and Christianity, he states with complete finality that there is no Heaven, so Dante's theological structures are but "formal" blinds with which to rationalize Florentine political feuds. "Machiavelli divorced politics from ethics only in the sense that every science must divorce itself from ethics." Socialism and Marxianism, too, have their myths, and myths are necessary for the élite to achieve their power. The masses love their myths. Mr. Burnham is fortunate in seeing through them and in being able to choose and preach exactly the absolutes which do appeal to him, such as a "passion for truth," a complete trust in "science" (of which he makes no clear definition), and, of course, a general sentiment in favor of liberty and "that minimum of moral dignity which alone can justify the strange accident of man's existence."

Someone might ask the question: But could not Mr. Burnham be reformed—that is to say, were he to renounce his anti-Christian sentiments, and profess belief in Christian teaching as a reality, instead of scoffing at it as a myth? After all, the Church is not opposed to political realism. Among the very rare instances of good government which the world has ever seen, Mr. Burnham numbers certain periods in the history of the Catholic Church. The Church teaches the doctrine of Original Sin, and is extremely skeptical, quite in Mr. Burnham's mood, of political theories which ignore man's habitually predatory nature. Sir Thomas More,

whose conscience Burnham commends, had very few illusions as to ordinary motives of political action.

There are even Catholic political scientists who believe the future of politics lies in the hands of an élite, not in the so-called "common people," and that the most essential task of education is to school the aristocratic leaders; not the multitudes, in our confused American way. No more than Burnham is the Church in love with "hypocrisy," with the psychologist explainers and the journalistic fellow travelers.

This assumption, of course, is purely gratuitous. I see not the remotest prospect of Mr. Burnham appearing at any rectory door with a penny catechism in his hand. But were this to occur, the explanation would still have to be made to him that the Church has her own concept of realism. In the full light of her knowledge of man as he is, in the light of her humanistic science, she rejects absolutely the notion that man is necessarily motivated by a completely dog-eat-dog philosophy. Her experience has shown something that keeps uncomfortably—for him—breaking through Mr. Burnham's cocksure generalizations. After all, and in the long run, the nobler and the more religious and ethical professions and motives do yield the greatest historical dynamism.

In other words, the Church takes seriously the idea of a juridical order, and this in the full remembrance of all the warrior Popes and Gallican Bishops of her long history. This does not conflict with an honest recognition of the part played by powerful minorities in molding history.

Compelled, therefore, to dismiss the (hypothetically submissive) Mr. Burnham with regrets and a cup of tea, we could still set, as we have before, considerable store by him, first, as a keen critic of a host of popular fallacies, then, as an indication of a type of thinking which is bound to increase and—God knows how far—prevail. Mr. Burnham is a sharp exponent of the devious ways by which professed liberalisms revert to the tyrannies which they denounce. But his own philosophy offers none but a paper safeguard against the destruction of liberty. His pleas for realism are a warning. But his rejection of a spiritual and ethical order is a threat.

JOHN LAFARGE

## REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS

MUTINY IN JANUARY. By Carl Van Doren. The Viking Press. \$3.50

IN *Mutiny in January* we have a detailed and scholarly account of an incident apparently so trifling and unimportant as to get not even a mention in most accounts of the American Revolution. Yet it was an event which might have had a tremendous effect on the outcome of that struggle and upon the whole future history of the Colonies. The mutiny of some two thousand troops of the Pennsylvania Line, which was peacefully settled in a couple of weeks, is no doubt a very minor detail in the sweeping story of America's struggle for freedom; but they were an anxious two weeks for Washington, Congress and for all engaged in the fight for liberty.

On the night of January 2, 1781, a few Pennsylvania regiments of the Continental Regular Army mutinied in their camp at Mount Kemble, New Jersey, expelled their officers, marched to Princeton, meanwhile keeping perfect order and discipline. There a Committee of Sergeants discussed their grievances with General Wayne, Pennsylvania civil authorities and a committee from Congress. When most of their demands had been granted and several hundred had received their overdue dis-



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charges, the remainder went peaceably back to winter quarters at Mount Kemble.

Such, in brief, is the story our author spins through some two hundred and forty pages. Keeping strictly to the facts, drawing largely on unpublished documents and archives for material, Mr. Van Doren gives us an interesting and readable, although very detailed, account of those critical January days. The years of steadily growing discontent since Valley Forge; the hardships of lack of food, warm clothing and a fast depreciating currency; the readiness to grumble, the fundamental loyalty of the common soldier, are all vividly described, bringing home to the reader the many problems and difficulties which had to be faced and conquered by leaders and rank and file alike in their determination to found a free nation.

While their reactions to their problems may not make these men square with the conventional ideal of the Revolutionary Hero, it heartens us to remember that much of the dogged determination, self-sacrifice and loyalty which underlay their defects must still exist in our people today and will carry us through the present crisis in safety.

While much of the book is very readable, the too-detailed discussion of the identity and activities of the British spies, and the long-drawn-out account of the negotiations of the mutineers with the civil and military authorities, which take up about three-fourths of the story, become a bit tedious. The account is so detailed that it might be called "an official report of the January Mutiny," done in excellent English and showing fine imagination and dramatic ability on the part of its author.

F. J. GALLAGHER

#### ALMOST, NOT QUITE

THE COMPLETE LIFE. By John Erskine. Julian Messner. \$3

AUTOBIOGRAPHY is one of the more subtle and difficult among the literary arts. Mr. Erskine solves the problem of approach by using the oblique, yet personal, manner of his beloved master, Michel de Montaigne; and the net result enables the reader to savor the delicate bouquet of personality without having to strain out the harsh lees of egoism. Because the essay method has been adopted, each chapter may be considered a separate entity, and here the sensitive mixture of the personal and the universal produces an effect not unlike Abbé Dimnet, or the Stevenson of *Virginibus Puerisque*.

We had reason to expect much sound and mellow judgment on books from the author of *The Delight of Great Books*; nor does the chapter, "Reading and Writing," disappoint our anticipations. Those who know Mr. Erskine for his urbane novels of marriage will not be surprised, either, by such Gallo-English epigrams in "How to Be a Parent" as: "To beget or to bear a child is no art at all. Some of the greatest fools have excelled at it. Being a parent is quite a different thing." But the measured political wisdom of such chapters as "Politics" and "Foreigners" comes as a very pleasant shock, even though it really shouldn't when one remembers that the Eighteenth Century wits, among whose modern equivalents Mr. Erskine must be ranged—even if his prose preferences incline to the more supple Latinity of a century earlier—were masters of political and social idea as well as of lapidary style.

Even so, the reader is hardly prepared to find Mr. Erskine a member in good standing of that sturdier *cénacle* which numbers Thoreau, Emerson, Eric Gill and Dorothy Sayers, they who stake their souls on doing, not merely observing, and who resist the vicarious even in such simple matters as weeding and driving nails; but just read "The Intimate Crafts."

The intelligent Catholic will be much interested in Mr. Erskine's dicta on "Religion"; he will respect his ideas on "Marriage," but will register a polite and firm demur on the question of divorce, where *The Complete Life* aligns itself with the noble nullities of Galsworthy's

*In Chancery.* The author here reveals himself, for all his love of Catholic liturgy and Anglican common prayer, the very avatar of the Good Pagan. Like other great Liberals of literature, beginning with Marcus Aurelius and coming down through Mill to Shaw, he makes the mistake of gauging average human nature by his own. One might, absolutely speaking, conceive of divorce as suiting the uncommon nature of an Erskine in some Platonic Other State; but it most emphatically does not befit the common nature of humans in the Here and Now.

CHARLES A. BRADY

THE AMERICAN LEONARDO. *The Life of Samuel F. B. Morse.* By Carleton Mabee. Alfred A. Knopf. \$5

THIS well documented biography of the inventor of the telegraph makes fascinating reading. The subject, Samuel F. B. Morse, was by temperament restless and vacillating, and it must have been no easy task for his biographer to sift the facts from the legends and rumor. Mr. Mabee, however, has written his book with objectivity and fairness. Mr. Morse is portrayed as a man of strong religious prejudices, likes and dislikes, and at times, as a person of a hopeful and depressed nature. Morse's upbringing in the parsonage at Charlestown fashioned and strengthened the religious animosities deeply in his mind, and he never conquered or rose above them.

It is a constant surprise in reading this book to realize how little time Morse spent in reading. True, his education at Yale does not appear to have fostered any liking for literature, and consequently he lost much of the joy and pleasure which would have accompanied his artistry and invention. He studied the subjects he enjoyed and neglected the others. He had talent above the average, and at the same time was a victim of his prejudices and was easily duped. He hated Catholicism and everything Catholic, but read nothing about them: he labored for hours on his colors and lines, and would believe any word uttered against his enemies. The man who stated that religion and education must go hand in hand, was the same man who was seduced into public action by the tales of Maria Monk. He claimed to be liberal, and had no sympathy with foreigners: he despised honors and medals, and accepted many from various governments.

These instances give but a faint picture of the many sides to Morse's character. They also indicate how great was the task which Mr. Mabee assigned himself when he began the research necessary for such a work. However, the book is deserving of much praise for its scholarly treatment and for its charm. Mr. Mabee has by his zeal and ability left a memorial to Morse that is worthy of deep and lasting consideration.

JOHN A. O'CALLAGHAN

A HISTORY OF EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE. By Edgar J. Goodspeed. University of Chicago Press. \$2.50 DR. GOODSPED'S scholarly work traces the rise of early Christian literature from its beginnings in Paul and the Evangelists down to the Council of Nicaea in 325 A.D. The earlier literature is grouped "according to types as letters, revelations, gospels and acts, with the individual works arranged chronologically within the several groups." But because, once the "more conscious literary movement" began, many a writer worked in three or four types, versatile individuals like Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Hippolytus and Origen are treated as units, each in relation to his times and problems.

commendable are a graceful presentation, without sacrifice of scholarliness, that breathes life into even musty manuscripts; an insight into the New Testament as "the source of a whole range of literary movements," and an unfailing interest in each writer's New Testament; a mastery of the pen-picture and of pithy summary; and the harvest of mature reflection on perplexing literary problems of the age.

On the other hand, many of the genetic relations presented between particular New Testament books and

## "this MAN was IRELAND"

THE DOOM OF ROME WAS FIXED when Constantine, in 330, transferred his capital and the administrative machinery of the Empire to Byzantium, having rebuilt it and renamed it for himself. Rome, from the center of a "world empire"—a proud metropolis of 500,000—shrank in six generations to the status of a decayed provincial capital (repeatedly looted and sacked by the barbarians) with a bare 50,000 impoverished inhabitants.

And a hundred years later it was becoming apparent that Africa also was doomed. Just two years before Patrick set out for Ireland (432) the great Augustine, that "Eagle of Doctors," had died during the siege of his cathedral city by the armies of the Vandals.

But Patrick's "mission to the West" altered the balance of things. One hundred years later a fresh, new culture was rising—in Ireland. From Ireland light and learning were beginning to spread through western Europe, carried from the Irish center by the Irish missionaries. Irish craftsmen were unequalled in Europe and it was the Irish scribes of this period who made "the world's most beautiful book"—the "Book of Kells" which is the pride of modern Ireland.

When Columcille was born (521) it was already taken as a matter of course that a promising young man of noble birth would "sojourn for a time in Ireland for the love of God and of learning." It was a remarkable century into which he was born, full of creative action and pregnant with change, and during his lifetime of 76 years there were sown the seeds whose growth would determine the course of European history for the next three hundred years.

During Colm's lifetime Justinian reconquered the Empire and codified and stabilized its laws. Columcille was eight years old when the Benedictine Rule was born at Monte Cassino, and seven years before his death the great Gregory began his Pontificate. (One year after Colm's death Gregory would send the other Augustine to Canterbury to make angels of the Angles!)

In the East this century saw the building (537) in Constantinople of the great church of Santa Sofia (now for some six centuries a Mohammedan mosque). In 571 Mohammed was born (Columcille was 50 at the time and well established in Iona). This century also saw the introduction of Buddhism into Japan.

When Colm was 25 he opened his first church and school "amid the oak trees of Calgaich . . . in sight of the salt main in which the seagulls cry." The landscape and culture of his time have all the simplicity and beauty of the heroic age and recall even to details, the Greece of Homer and the Odyssey. Irish archaeology has done much in the last 50 years to restore the *minutiae* of the period. We now know what they ate and wore, what their boats and houses and weapons were like, as well as much of their manners and customs.

And Robert Farren has known what to do with such materials. He is a "true scholar and poet": a "seer" and a "maker" in the great tradition, with the gift for the creative phrase ("grumbling and twanging harps"—"Sense, like a string, she stirs"—"Mercy's the child of delight") and of extreme vigor and versatility. (His "Poet's Curse" and "Literary Conversation" recall—without resembling—the great Belloc in his most sardonic vein, and the Gaelic Wit equals the Gallic Master!)

In Ireland Farren is accepted as the greatest living Irish poet, both in the English and Gaelic tongues. (He is Roibeard ó Faracháin.) In this country he is most widely known for his "Immolation" (. . . "in this White Host") which has already found a place in the best anthologies (and which will, we believe, ultimately find for itself a place in the Liturgy also).

"THIS MAN WAS IRELAND: The Song of Columcille, the First Exile" is a narrative poem made up of more than 70 lyrics into which all our knowledge of Colm (and of the legends and traditions as well) has been gathered—informing and transformed by the Poet's eye.

We believe the publication of this book to be a literary event of the greatest importance. Robert Farren is an Irishman: he understands Columcille and he knows Ireland. And as he says, Columcille was Ireland. And today—after 1400 years—Ireland is Columcille.

"And Colm heard all this praying \* as the shadow of the glorified body \* as a changing of body to spirit \* as a change of one world to another \* as a penetration with Godhead \* as perpetual levitation \* as conversation in Heaven . . ."

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the first century of non-scriptural literary activity become unacceptable, even if understandable, in Dr. Goodspeed's presupposition of the views propounded in his *Introduction to the New Testament*, a veritable checkerboard for liberal dating and identification of sacred writers. Further, in the author's eyes, the idea of a world-wide organization of Christianity saw its seed-time in the mind of Marcion, was watered by the rise of the sects in the second century and blossomed in the age of Irenaeus. The Roman claim of primacy "began with Victor (who died in 198), progressed under Calixtus, who claimed the 'power of the keys,' and reached a peak under Stephen (A.D. 254-57), who professed to occupy the 'chair of St. Peter.'"

Despite doctrinal lacunae, the individual chapters on the great names from Irenaeus to Origen merit special mention. One feels, upon closing the book, that there is a definite need for a similar work for the average English reader, from the hand of a Catholic scholar.

WALTER J. BURGHARDT, S.J.

DON'T BLAME THE GENERALS. By Alan Moorehead.  
Harper and Bros. \$3.50

THE AUTHOR was a correspondent, during 1941 and 1942, in North Africa and in India. Compared with his dispatches at the time, this book supplements them by accounts of mistakes and bunglings then concealed by the Censor. There are vivid descriptions of a panic among British troops in June, 1942, and of a futile attack in the next month, when the British lost sixty out of eighty tanks.

Moorehead's report of his visit to India is very interesting. He was there during the visit of Sir Stafford Cripps, who sought to introduce a Constitution drawn by the British Cabinet. The author does not believe that the British proposals ever had a chance of acceptance. The British desired India to fight and win a peace by destroying the aggressor. Gandhi and his extensive following desired a peace secured through non-violence. As these viewpoints were contradictory, there was no meeting ground for an agreement.

Only the last chapter of the book relates to the title. It is quite true that, in democracies, the political head of the government decides when and where attacks are to be made, and how many troops, guns, tanks, etc., are to be sent to each of many places. The generals must get along with the job, with what is given to them. When the head of the state also commands the army, as Napoleon for example, his is the responsibility for results. When the Chief of State and the general are different men, there will be agreement that the generals are not necessarily to blame if disasters occur.

CONRAD H. LANZA

OUR SOLDIERS SPEAK, 1775-1918. By William Matthews and Dixon Wecter. Little, Brown and Co. \$3.50

AS the title suggests, the authors of this book attempt an historical analysis of the American fighting man by introducing us to countless diaries and letters written by the rank and file of our armed services from Lexington to the Argonne. Our democratic instincts have always revered the Unknown Soldier. Yet, unfortunately, he has too often been a vague generality, too weak to burn us with a realization of our heritage that was purchased with real toil, hardship and blood. Here is the Unknown Soldier living in his own jottings, scribbled under fire, in the lull between battles, on the march, in the prison camp. Here we have straightforward conversation with men whom most history books have known only as numbers. We learn at first hand their likes and dislikes, their humor and their fears, their virtues and even their shortcomings, with a frankness and freshness born of mortal danger.

Outstanding among several interesting items are the eye-witness accounts of the regimental thief of Revolutionary days, "almost as necessary as the quartermaster"; of the capture of the British André by a Rebel private; of the Civil War's stirring commando raid, "The Locomotive Chase in Georgia," of the capture of 355

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Germans by one Sergeant Adams; the vivid memoir of the Lost Battalion of the Argonne.

As an evaluation of the individual soldier's importance in American military success, this book is worth while and interesting. Unfortunately, however, the authors seem to have missed the vast influence of religion, or more concretely, of Chaplains, on the morale of our fighting men. Here frequently is the source of their care-free valor.

JOHN D. BOYD

**THE BETTER LIFE.** By Rev. Kilian Hennrich, O.F.M.  
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IN a lucidly clear style, the author of this very orderly volume treats of the seven-centuried, but ever young, Third Order of Saint Francis. His approach is as satisfying as it is novel. In the Introduction two questions are raised: "What exactly does the Third Order offer that is not obtainable in other pious associations?" and "Is Christ divided?" To their answer the volume is for the most part devoted. In chapters which abound in practical suggestions for a more complete life in Christ, the author brings the Tertiary through the life of the Seven Sacraments. A chapter on spreading Tertiarianism, one entitled "A Postscript to Religious," two appendices, and an excellent bibliography complete the volume which should help much to fulfill the purpose of Leo XIII's plan to reform society in the Third Order.

Father Kilian writes with a heart filled with zeal for the Third Order and consequently he writes well. Occasionally his zeal carries him into somewhat exaggerated expressions, as for example, when he writes: "There is nothing in the Church that could equal, much less better, it [Tertiarianism]." The wisdom of the author's suggestion to include novices of other Religious Orders and congregations as Tertiaries is doubted. All Tertiaries and their directors have here a volume which should be their handbook for the future.

R. R. GOGGIN, S.J.

**KLONDIKE MIKE.** An Alaskan Odyssey. By Merrill Denison. William Morrow and Co. \$3.50  
THIS amazing biography of an Irish-Canadian bears out all the fantastic stories we have ever read or heard of the Alaskan gold rush. Michael Mahoney, twenty-one, red-headed and curious, embarked casually for Skagway in the summer of 1897, and for the next fifteen years lived through a series of adventures that sound like the most romantic fiction.

He became the great musher of his time, and established records on the trails that are unbroken today. He was a fighter whose skill was known and respected the length of the Yukon. He took a fortune from the gold fields, lost it in four months, and went back to make another. His feats of strength and endurance are almost beyond belief. He actually carried a piano on his back, over the famous Chilkoot Pass, and on another occasion, blazed a trail over the mountain with a dog-sled, to take the frozen body of Judge Humes from Fairbanks to Valdez, 400 miles, fighting a pack of hungry wolves all the way! He left Alaska at thirty-six, with enough money for the rest of his life, settled in Ottawa, where he made another fortune in a trucking concern; finally, when over fifty, he placed himself in the hands of a tutor, for the education he had never had the opportunity to acquire as a boy.

The author tells his story well; it is lively with wit and humor: a colorful picture of the Alaskan gold rush and a splendid biography of an incredible Irishman. Recommended as entertaining reading for young and old.

ELIZABETH M. JOYCE

JOHN A. O'CALLAGHAN is head of the English Department at Boston College.

WALTER BURGHARDT, S.J., has done extensive study at Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md., in Patristics.

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LIKE that of many of my brethren in the field of architecture, my activity of a professional kind is limited to irregular employment on work connected with the Government's needs in the war effort. Just as I was settling down to consideration of this week's column, two telephone calls came in close succession, asking me to come to Washington for a conference on an urgent matter. I occupied myself on the trip down with thoughts about the content of the column and also on the probable nature of my conference in the Capital.

This being settled, I took advantage of a lull between appointments and escaped to the chill interior of that be-columned example of studied, official classicism, the National Museum of Art. Just why a museum should look like a temple has never been explained and in this case it has resulted in a building whose grandiose character overwhelms its purpose as a place for the display and storage of art. This, it will be recalled, comes from the Mellon, Kress and Widener Collections and consists, mainly, of paintings and of incidental sculpture displayed with them. The paintings are arranged in a general chronological order and this makes the display a résumé of painting art from the thirteenth to the close of the nineteenth centuries.

It is rumored that some very rare works of art have been removed for safe-keeping during the war period, but what still remains is sufficiently notable. The chronological sequence of the works is of great value to all who like to observe the changes that constantly occur in art. Not only do these changes reflect the matured national traits of the different sections of Europe, and of the religious and social changes that occurred in them, but they also clearly show the transition of painting art from its medieval and early Renaissance position as a detail of architecture, to its independent, and somewhat anomalous condition, of an art devised for display on gallery walls.

Art was originally considered valuable both for its use and the enjoyment it created; gallery art, however, finds its justification in the esthetic pleasure derived from it, for it serves no purpose other than this. The social needs of our day, as well as a condition that would vitalize art by integrating it with life, require that we again revert to an art that has useful aspects. The absence of this probably has helped to atrophy American efforts to produce an important painting art.

What this National Museum reveals of the development of painting makes a trip to it well worth while. As an instance, the appearance of a free type of painting in the work of Titian and his school, in which there was a new orchestration of color, lighting and brush-work, is clearly revealed as a background source for the superb El Grecos. In this great painter is evidence that with him gallery art completely removed itself from its architectural associations and achieved an independent existence. There is also a pair of Goya portraits that contain a startling illustration of the advance in painting technique. In one is a mingling of planarity, or flatness, combined with an atmospheric type of loose and vital brush-work, which indicates rather than tightly delineates forms. The other painting, presumably a later one, is a complete exemplification of that atmospheric rendering which, in turn, is the background source of the brilliant works of the non-academic French painters of the latter part of the nineteenth century. Modern French painting being gallery art at its best, the fine examples included in this permanent display complete the satisfaction one derives from an arrangement made with regard to historical, artistic and technical development and change, an arrangement to which only praise can be accorded.

BARRY BYRNE

# THEATRE

OUR GREATEST REVUE. Let us admit at once, and save a lot of time by doing it, that the best revue of the year is our own show, *This Is the Army*, written for and contributed to his country—play rights, screen rights and musical rights—by Irving Berlin.

It is an inspiring experience to see the love and admiration Mr. Berlin has aroused in his fellow-citizens. Americans have had plenty of opportunity. Throughout its all-too-brief season in New York, and for much of the time during its long tour throughout this country, Mr. Berlin has appeared in his revue "in person" to sing his familiar song, written by him years ago, *Oh, How I Hate to Get Up in the Morning*, and has received an ovation. In any offering he would have had a rousing reception, for Irving Berlin has also written in the past at least a dozen of the most popular songs ever composed by an American song writer.

But *This Is the Army* as a whole has been a smash hit, not only in New York but in every city where it has been given, which means all the important cities of this country. In every city vast audiences have enjoyed it, and in every audience the reactions have been the same. The audience has said to itself, as one man or one woman: "I'm having an absolutely unique experience. I'm seeing one of the best revues ever put on on any stage. I'm hearing the author sing in it, and I'm realizing that it's worth a cool million dollars, and that I'm looking at the man who made it and who has handed over every cent of its proceeds from play, picture and music rights to the Army Emergency Relief Fund as a war gift.

"I'm also realizing that this extraordinary little man I'm staring at, who can give a million-dollar gift to his country, was born in poverty in one of New York's East Side slums, spent his childhood on slum streets, earned his first income as a dishwasher in a little East Side restaurant, and then made a fortune writing songs millions of his countrymen have hummed or whistled or sung. And now he is in a position to do this for his country. By Jove, I'm glad I remembered all that! It's as thrilling to get a look at him as it is to watch his show!"

I attended the second-night New York showing of Mr. Berlin's revue last summer and I heard around me all the reactions and tributes New Yorkers as well as vast audiences in every other American city have been having and giving over *This Is the Army* ever since. We are promised another look at the revue this Spring. We'd better look long and avidly, for it is unlikely any of us will ever again get from any stage offering the thrill Mr. Berlin and his theatrical gift to America have given us.

As I remarked in my original review last summer, some of the credit for the great popularity of the revue of *This Is the Army* must go to Sergeant Ezra Stone who directed it, to Private John Koenig, who made the scenery and costumes, and to the brilliant young singers, dancers and actors who were plucked from the Army to carry the program, as well as to their Army comrades who form the orchestra and chorus. While we are waiting for the revue's coming return to New York, we can refresh our memories on the number of its special musical hits. There are plenty of them, beginning with those we have listened to all winter: *This Is the Army*, *Mr. Jones*; *No Private Rooms Nor Telephones*; *I Left My Heart at the Stage Door Canteen* and *The Army's Made a Man Out of Me*.

Irving Berlin's *This Is the Army* is not only a superb revue. It's another reminder, especially welcome in war time, that we Americans really are a wonderful people—however, I suppose I ought to add—"Though we say it who shouldn't."

ELIZABETH JORDAN

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# FILMS

THE MORE THE MERRIER. Tragedies of war take a holiday in this picture, while the plight of over-crowded, wartime Washington provides some of the loudest laughs to be heard around the cinema theatres these days. This is unadulterated comedy, satirical some of the time but definitely slapstick at others, with never a really serious moment or profound problem to distract an audience from the screwball proceedings that disentangle themselves on the celluloid. The Capital's housing shortage throws a rare trio together, Jean Arthur, a Government worker, Charles Coburn, a housing expert and Joel McCrea, an airplane expert. Mr. Coburn promotes romance in the life of the girl, who, he suspects, is lonely, by leasing a portion of her apartment to McCrae. The ensuing developments are too complicated to attempt to divulge, but they are merry and gay. Though the madcap farce was designed to amuse war-worried moviegoers and succeeds admirably, it is regrettable that *objection* must be made to its light treatment of marriage, and to the injection of some suggestive scenes. (Columbia)

SPITFIRE. With the name of this deadly fighter plane on everyone's lips these days, the story of its creation is particularly interesting and enlightening. The British-made production goes back over fifteen years in the life of R. J. Mitchell, the plane's designer, and tells how he was inspired to build the famed aircraft. Leslie Howard is cast in the role of Mitchell and gives one of his truly memorable characterizations as the man whose revolutionary ideas in plane-building started a new era in England's aviation history. As the inventor's friend, David Niven makes a real contribution to the drama of the tale and manages to enliven the often tense moments with humor. There is little air action or any other kind of action in this record of the birth of the famous combat plane, but dramatic material compensates for the quiet mood. All the *family* will find this film well worth a trip to the theatre. (RKO)

HANGMEN ALSO DIE. The murder of Nazi Reinhard Heydrich, known as "the Hangman," by the Czechs, supplies the incident around which this plot is woven. How the Czech populace rises up to a man and protects the assassin, even at the price of their own lives, is told with terrific impact. This presentation of Nazi barbarism is one of the most violent and forceful yet pictured, and its constant piling up of horror leaves an onlooker emotionally worn out. Brian Donlevy, Walter Brennan and Anna Lee head a capable and convincing cast. Though spine-tingling suspense and supercharged drama make this entertainingly satisfying for strong-nerved folks, it is *objectionable* on its moral score, since the plot solution involves a series of untruths which are presented as ethically justifiable. (United Artists)

WHITE SAVAGE. Thinking about this latest saga of life in the South Seas à la Hollywood is enough to convince even the most tolerant that there should be a law against further such atrocities. This technicolor monstrosity cannot evoke even one kind word, for its settings and panoramas are as garish and artificial as its characters. Marie Montez and Jon Hall meander through a far-fetched concoction about a native princess and some murderous white men who are attempting to separate her from her jewel-studded pool. The hero goes through amazing stunts to save her and, of course, succeeds. It is melodrama of the most unbelievable and ridiculous variety and merits an *objectionable rating* because of a suggestive dance sequence. (Universal)

MARY SHERIDAN

# CORRESPONDENCE

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## EIGHTEEN-YEAR-OLD

EDITOR: AMERICA readers may be interested in the following letter from an 18-year-old Marine.

Dear Dad and Family:

Hello everybody! It is now Monday evening and I have seen Mom probably the last time. We spent all Saturday and Sunday together and believe me it was a treat. Gee, I was so happy to see her, but I must admit that I nearly burst out crying when I had to say goodbye. But I am a Marine now, and I have to take it. So I took it like a man and am now working hard again.

Today was a pretty tough day. We walked about twenty miles and ran about five. We were taught how to defend ourselves against snipers, and the art of camouflage. Camouflage is very necessary and, believe me, I learned as much as I could. I was made a squad leader today, and I am now in charge of fifteen men. All these men are in my charge and I am responsible for them. In the battlefield they dare not make a move without my command. I consider it very much of an honor and I am working hard, every spare minute, to learn the duties of a squad leader and be able to direct my men right. I have a great deal of responsibility and am trying my darndest to make my squad the best.

Dad, if everything goes as planned, I will probably be sent across in six to eight weeks. Don't worry about me, for I have confidence in myself and I know my duties. Dad, I have my Rosary with me always, and I say it almost daily. If anything was to happen to me, I would be fully prepared and not afraid to die. I don't want to scare you, when talking like this, but, as man to man, you know it will be a tough struggle and that many of us will not see the States again. I am happy and proud to be of such help to my Country and my security is left entirely to God.

The work is terrific, and sometimes almost impossible, but if others can do it I can. Promise not to worry about me for I am not worrying. I am doing my part to the best of my ability and surely my breaks will come. Tell everyone hello, and Mom will be home soon.

Loads of love to all,

Jim

God send us many such, who fight also with the Sword of the Spirit.

Detroit, Mich.

J. J. D.

## THE WAR AND WRITERS

EDITOR: In your distinguished weekly AMERICA, a number of articles and letters have appeared on the timely topic "Catholic Writers."

If ever in the history of mankind Catholic writers were needed, it is right now at the present time. If Catholic writers had utilized the deposit of Faith which God has given to them as a free gift, I believe it can be truthfully stated that this terrible catastrophe of war could have been avoided.

A Divine Call to Arms, a great privilege—to bring mankind back to God and to their better selves! Certainly one that cannot be declined or slighted by even the least of us.

However, many of us have difficulties to meet and so we have excuses. But the Catholic editors—and they in the front ranks of Catholic writers—cannot and dare not dodge the issue. We must do more for God and

our fellowmen—even if we have to produce and deliver with the sweat of our blood, as one of our foremost Catholic writers of today told me he produced most of his works. The great cause demands it. God Himself demands it; and our fellowmen demand that we break the Bread of Life to the modern world, and that we proclaim to an angry, wayward world the Way, the Truth and the Life.

Hays, Kansas

R. R.

## U. S. IN EUROPE

EDITOR: In our discussions of the coming peace conference and the new League of Nations, a common assumption is that Europe would welcome our participation as prime movers. It seems possible, however, that this welcome will be somewhat less than unanimous. Statesmen of the smaller nations, particularly, may remember the ineptitude, calamitous to their countries, of our delegates at Versailles. Among other horror stories related by Dr. E. J. Dillon is that of one of the Anglo-Saxon principals who asked M. Cambon why he thought that Frederick the Great had had something to do with the partition of Poland.

It may be best for us to play the humble parts of policeman and self-financed social worker after the war. As Mr. Belloc wrote in 1923: "[solving Europe's problem] is our own affair; we alone understand it. . . . Every public man from Europe who approaches the people of the United States, begging them to interfere in our affairs, is a liar, and knows that he is a liar." And good police work is, after all, an honorable occupation.

Whatever happens, it would seem to this writer that while American Catholics may be resigned to our entry into another League of Nations—provided it comes to pass—we have no reason to be happy over this renewed triumph of secularism.

St. Paul, Minn.

J. H. O'HARA

## A CORRECTION

EDITOR: Some errors seem to have crept into the transcription of my article on *Fascism and Economics* (AMERICA, April 10, 1943)—due, no doubt, to the difficulty of deciphering my penmanship. Since these inaccuracies would be somewhat amusing to readers familiar with the geography of Italy and the history of Fascism, I should appreciate your publishing a correction.

The errors in question appear in paragraphs 3 and 7 of the published text. The first sentence of paragraph 3, as it now stands, would place Eritrea in Italy proper, and would make the valley of the Po the poor relation among Italian districts. It should read as follows:

The unrest of the peasants and rural workers was occasion for the spread of small Fascist groups in Lombardy, Emilia and Romagna (the valley of the Po)—the richest and happiest regions in Italy.

Paragraph 7, as published, creates a misconception of the role played by the Fascists and Black Shirt Militia in gaining control of the economic, military and political power in Italy. The paragraph should read:

He (Mussolini) got control of the economic life of Italy through the pseudo-corporation and the real autarchic system; of the Army through his Black Militia; and of all political parties through the one-party system.

Jacksonville, Fla.

Luigi Sturzo

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# PARADE

COURT decisions that may have considerable influence in shaping social customs came into being. . . . One decision involved a question that has often been disputed in the past—to wit, may a fat woman collect damages from a theatre when a seat collapses beneath her during a show. In this instance, a stout California woman won \$25,000 damages from a theatre because one of its seats crashed down to the floor when she sat upon it. Another decision, ending a one-cent law suit, ruled that a dealer may step up the sales tax by including the deposit on a bottle in his computation. It flowed from court proceedings initiated by a Long Island citizen determined to get a penny back from a druggist after the latter had made him pay a sales tax on his bottle deposit. The court decreed that the penny could stay in the druggist's cash register. . . . Set up also was a legal precedent in the case of Lady Pooh, a wealthy dog, who is heir to a \$100,000 estate, left her by a Michigan woman. The woman's daughter is contesting the will. In setting up the precedent, the court denied a monthly allowance of \$250 to Lady Pooh. . . . Hagiography as a deterrent to poor-box robbing was developed. A New York court suspended sentence on a former sexton convicted of lifting \$1.22 from a poor box, but imposed the condition that the defendant read the life of Saint Francis of Assisi and reappear in court prepared to give a detailed account of the Saint's career.

The unexpected added a novel coloring to the stream of current history passing by. . . . When a Western autoist extended his arm to signal a left turn, a thief stole his wrist watch. . . . A California woman, speeding along a coast boulevard in an open car, noticed a live mackerel dropping into her lap. A sea gull hovering above had dropped the mackerel. . . . A female official of the Salt Lake City Health Department made a routine inspection of the city jail. While she was doing this, a new shift of jailers took over. Her inspection finished, she called out: "I'll come out now." A jailer called back: "That's what they all say." She spent additional hours behind bars. . . . In Virginia, a diner eating a frankfurter bit into something hard. It was a wedding ring. By clever police work, the ring moved from the diner's mouth to the finger of a packer who had lost it two years ago. . . . In Pennsylvania, a music-loving cow learned to turn on the radio installed above her barn stanchion. . . . Strange contrasts appeared. . . . The will of a New York woman established a \$10,000 trust fund for her chow dog. . . . A Midwest woman died without making any financial provision for her twenty-one cats.

Strange, too, in this modern world, was a court-room scene in which a judge denounced birth control. . . . A young New York husband sought an annulment of his marriage with an actress because she refused to have children. He testified: "She kept putting me off with one excuse after another. Finally, she told me I was a stupid idiot to think she was going to settle down and give up her career for children." After ascertaining that the young husband had cooperated with his wife in the practice of birth control, the judge declared: "You consented to make a mockery, a farce, out of marriage. Marriage is for the propagation of children. It is the primary and most important obligation of a man when he takes a wife. You were a party to the desecration of the most sacred thing there is among civilized human beings, no matter of what religion. You blame it all on the woman. It is like way back in the Bible. Adam said the woman did it. He was not in it at all. That is what you are telling me here. What did you marry her for anyhow, just to be her paramour?" Well?

JOHN A. TOOMEY

# THE AMERICA BOOK-LOG FOR APRIL

**REPORTING THE RETURNS SENT BY THE CATHOLIC BookDEALERS FROM ALL SECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY ON THE TEN CATHOLIC BOOKS HAVING THE BEST SALE DURING THE PAST MONTH**

Runners-up this month were: *Great Modern Catholic Short Stories*—Mariella, *House on Humility Street*—Doherty and *This War Is the Passion*—Houslander, all with 7 votes, *Across a World*—Considine, and *Companion to the Summa*, Vol. IV—Farrell, each with 6 votes. This is AMERICA'S monthly report on what Catholics are reading.

History, fiction, biography, a modern parable and a juvenile make up this month's ten best. Quite a varied fare—have you sampled them all?

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